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**ACHAEMENID HISTORY XIII**

series edited by  
Pierre Briant, Wouter Henkelman, Amélie Kuhrt,  
Johan de Roos, Margaret C. Root,  
Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg (†) and Josef Wiesehöfer

**A PERSIAN PERSPECTIVE  
ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF  
HELEEN SANCISI-WEERDENBURG**

EDITED BY

**WOUTER HENKELMAN**  
and  
**AMÉLIE KUHRT**



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*In memoriam Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*  
23. May, 1944 – 28. May, 2000

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*Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg in Amsterdam, 23 May, 1999*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABC</i>	A.K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles</i> (Texts from Cuneiform Sources 5), Locust Valley 1975.
<i>ABL</i>	R.F. Harper, <i>Assyrian and Babylonian Letters belonging to the Kouyoujik Collection of the British Museum</i> , 14 vols., London – Chicago 1892-1914.
<i>ACh</i>	C. Virolleaud (ed.), <i>L'astronomie chaldéenne, le livre intitulé "enuma (Anu) ilu Bêl,"</i> Paris 1905-1912.
<i>AchHist I</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (ed.), <i>Achaemenid History I: Sources, Structures, Synthesis</i> , Leiden 1987.
<i>AchHist II</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & A. Kuhrt (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History II: The Greek Sources</i> , Leiden 1987.
<i>AchHist III</i>	A. Kuhrt & H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History III: Method and Theory</i> , Leiden 1988.
<i>AchHist IV</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & A. Kuhrt (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History IV: Centre and Periphery</i> , Leiden 1990.
<i>AchHist V</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & J.-W. Drijvers (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History V: The Roots of the European Tradition</i> , Leiden 1990.
<i>AchHist VI</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & A. Kuhrt (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History VI: Asia Minor and Egypt. Old Cultures in a New Empire</i> , Leiden 1991.
<i>AchHist VII</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg & J.-W. Drijvers (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History VII: Through Travellers' Eyes</i> , Leiden 1991.
<i>AchHist VIII</i>	H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg, A. Kuhrt & M.C. Root (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History VIII: Continuity and Change</i> , Leiden 1994.
<i>AchHist IX</i>	M.B. Garrison & M.C. Root, <i>Achaemenid History IX: Persepolis Seal Studies</i> , Leiden 1996/1998.
<i>AchHist XI</i>	M. Brosius & A. Kuhrt (eds.), <i>Achaemenid History XI: Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis</i> , Leiden 1998.
<i>AchHist XII</i>	D. Kaptan, <i>Achaemenid History XII: The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire</i> , 2 vols., Leiden 2002.
<i>ActaArch</i>	Acta Archaeologica.
<i>AD I-III</i>	A. Sachs & H. Hunger, <i>Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylon</i> , 3 vols. (DenkschrWien 195, 210, 247), Wien 1988-1996.
<i>ADFU</i>	Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka, Berlin.

<i>AfO</i>	Archiv für Orientforschung.
<i>AHw</i>	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , Wiesbaden 1965-1981.
<i>AION</i>	Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli, Napoli.
<i>AJA</i>	American Journal of Archaeology.
<i>AJAH</i>	American Journal of Ancient History.
<i>AMI</i>	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran.
<i>AMIT</i>	Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan.
<i>AnAnt</i>	Anatolia Antiqua.
<i>ANET</i>	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament</i> , Princeton 1969 [third revised edition].
<i>AnOr</i>	Analecta Orientalia.
<i>ANSMN</i>	American Numismatic Society: Museum Notes.
<i>AOAT</i>	Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Kevelaer/Neukirchen – Vluyn.
<i>AOAW</i>	Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, (Phil.-hist. Klasse), Wien.
<i>AOS</i>	American Oriental Series, New Haven.
<i>ARID</i>	Analecta Romana Instituti Danici, Roma.
<i>ARTA</i>	Achaemenid Research on Texts and Archaeology [electronic newsletter: <a href="http://www.achemenet.com/resources/enligne/arta/arta.htm">www.achemenet.com/resources/enligne/arta/arta.htm</a> ].
<i>ASJ</i>	Acta Sumerologica Japonica.
<i>ASNP</i>	Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa, Classe di lettere e filosofia, Firenze.
<i>BAI</i>	Bulletin of the Asia Institute.
<i>BASOR</i>	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
<i>BCH</i>	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.
<i>BE</i>	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
<i>BÉFAR</i>	Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, Rome.
<i>BHach I</i>	P. Briant, Bulletin d'histoire achéménide I, in: J. Andreau, M.-F. Boussac <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Recherches récentes sur l'empire achéménide</i> (Topoi 7, Suppl. 1), Lyon 1997, 5-127.
<i>BHach II</i>	P. Briant, <i>Bulletin d'histoire achéménide II: 1997-2000</i> (Persika 1), Paris 2001.
<i>BHLT</i>	A.K. Grayson, <i>Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts</i> , Toronto 1975.
<i>BHT</i>	S. Smith, <i>Babylonian Historical Texts</i> , London 1924.
<i>BIN</i>	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of J.B. Nies, New Haven.
<i>BiOr</i>	Bibliotheca Orientalis.
<i>BM</i>	British Museum.
<i>BMC</i>	Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, London.
<i>BMusBeyr</i>	Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth.
<i>BRM</i>	Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan, New Haven.

<i>BSA</i>	Annual of the British School at Athens.
<i>BSOAS</i>	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies.
<i>CAD</i>	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, Chicago 1956-.
<i>CAH III.2</i>	I.E.S. Edwards, N.G.L. Hammond & E. Sollberger (eds.), <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , vol. III.2: <i>The Assyrian and Babylonian Empires and Other States of the Near East, from the Eighth to the Sixth Centuries BC</i> , Cambridge 1991 [second revised edition].
<i>CAH IV</i>	J. Boardman, N.G.L. Hammond, D.M. Lewis & M. Ostwald (eds.), <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , vol. IV: <i>Persia, Greece and the Western Mediterranean c. 525 to 479 BC</i> , Cambridge 1988 [second revised edition].
<i>CAH VI</i>	D.M. Lewis, J. Boardman, S. Hornblower & M. Ostwald (eds.), <i>The Cambridge Ancient History</i> , vol. VI: <i>The Fourth Century BC</i> , Cambridge 1994 [second revised edition].
<i>CANE</i>	J.M. Sasson <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Civilizations of the Ancient Near East</i> , 4 vols., New York 1995.
<i>CDAFI</i>	Cahiers de la Délégation archéologique française en Iran.
<i>CHI II</i>	I. Gershevitch (ed.), <i>The Cambridge History of Iran</i> , vol. 2: <i>The Median and Achaemenian Periods</i> , London 1985.
<i>CJ</i>	Classical Journal.
<i>CRAI</i>	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres.
<i>CSCA</i>	California Studies in Classical Antiquity.
<i>CT</i>	Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum, London.
<i>Cyr</i>	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon</i> , Leipzig 1890.
<i>Data</i>	Data, Achaemenid History Newsletter.
<i>DenkschrWien</i>	Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse, Denkschriften, Wien.
<i>DHA</i>	Dialogues d'histoire ancienne.
<i>DNP</i>	Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike, Stuttgart – Weimar 1996-2002.
<i>DS</i>	Daskyleion Seal.
<i>EKI</i>	W. König, <i>Die elamischen Königsinschriften</i> (AfO Beiheft 16), Graz 1965.
<i>EIW</i>	W. Hinz & H. Koch, <i>Elamisches Wörterbuch</i> , 2. vols. (AMI Erg.Bd. 17), Berlin 1987.
<i>EncIr</i>	E. Yarshater (ed.), <i>Encyclopaedia Iranica</i> , London – Boston 1972-.
<i>EncPhot</i>	Encyclopédie photographique de l'art, Paris 1935-.
<i>EpigAnat</i>	Epigraphica Anatolica.
<i>FdX</i>	Fouilles de Xanthos, Paris.

<i>FGrH</i>	F. Jacoby, <i>Die Fragmente der Griechen Historiker</i> , Leiden 1957- [second revised edition].
<i>GAG</i>	W. von Soden, <i>Grundriß der Akkadischen Grammatik</i> (AnOr 33), Roma 1952.
<i>CCCI</i>	R.P. Dougherty, <i>Goucher College Cuneiform Inscriptions</i> , New Haven 1923-33.
<i>GMIS</i>	Siglum for objects excavated by R. Ghirshman at Masjid-i Solaiman.
<i>Harding</i>	P. Harding, <i>From the Peloponnesian War to the Battle of Ipsus</i> (Translated Documents of Greece and Rome 2), Cambridge 1985.
<i>HEP</i>	P. Briant, <i>Histoire de l'empire perse, de Cyrus à Alexandre</i> , Paris 1996 [also published as <i>AchHist</i> x, Leiden 1996; English translation <i>From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire</i> , Winona Lake 2002].
<i>IAM</i>	Istanbul Archaeological Museum.
<i>ICA</i>	Instituut voor Culture Anthropologie / Institute of Cultural and Social Studies, Leiden.
<i>IEJ</i>	Israel Exploration Journal.
<i>IJMES</i>	International Journal for Middle East Studies.
<i>INJ</i>	Israel Numismatic Journal.
<i>IOS</i>	Israel Oriental Studies.
<i>IrAnt</i>	Iranica Antiqua.
<i>IsMEO</i>	Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente.
<i>IstForsch</i>	Istanbuler Forschungen, Berlin – Tübingen.
<i>IstMitt</i>	Istanbuler Mitteilungen.
<i>JA</i>	Journal Asiatique.
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society.
<i>JCS</i>	Journal of Cuneiform Studies.
<i>JdI</i>	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.
<i>JEOL</i>	Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux.
<i>JHS</i>	Journal of Hellenic Studies.
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern Studies.
<i>MDP</i>	Mémoires de la Délégation française en Perse, Paris.
<i>MémAcInscr</i>	Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Paris.
<i>MEOL</i>	Mededelingen en Verhandelingen van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptische Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux," Leiden.
<i>MM</i>	Cuneiform tablet in the Museu Biblic of Montserrat monastery.
<i>MVAeG</i>	Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.
<i>NABU</i>	Nouvelles assyriologiques brèves et utilitaires [see also: <a href="http://www.achemenet.com/recherche/textes/babyloniens/nabu/nabu.htm">www.achemenet.com/recherche/textes/babyloniens/nabu/nabu.htm</a> ].
<i>NAWG</i>	Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen (Phil.-hist. Klasse), Göttingen.
<i>Nbn</i>	J.N. Strassmaier, <i>Inscripfen von Nabonidus, König von Babylon</i> , Leipzig 1889.

<i>NN</i>	Persepolis Fortification tablet, unpublished transliteration by R.T. Hallock.
<i>NRV</i>	M. San Nicolò & A. Ungnad, <i>Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden</i> , vol. I, Leipzig 1935.
<i>OCD</i>	S. Hornblower & A. Spawforth (eds.), <i>The Oxford Classical Dictionary</i> , Oxford – New York 1996 [third, revised edition].
<i>OIP</i>	Oriental Institute Publications, Chicago.
<i>OJA</i>	Oxford Journal of Archaeology.
<i>PAPS</i>	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
<i>PBS</i>	University of Pennsylvania, Publications of the Babylonian Section, Philadelphia.
<i>PF</i>	Persepolis Fortification tablet published in PFT.
<i>PFa</i>	Persepolis Fortification tablet published by R.T. Hallock, <i>Selected Fortification Texts</i> , <i>CDAFI</i> 8, 1978: 109-136.
<i>PFS</i>	Persepolis Fortification Seal (* marks inscribed seals).
<i>PFT</i>	R.T. Hallock, <i>Persepolis Fortification Tablets</i> (OIP 92), Chicago 1969.
<i>PIHANS</i>	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul, Leiden – Istanbul.
<i>PT</i>	Persepolis tablet published in G.G. Cameron, <i>Persepolis Treasury Tablets</i> (OIP 65), Chicago 1948.
<i>PTS</i>	Persepolis Treasury Seal (* marks inscribed seals).
<i>RA</i>	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale.
<i>RAA</i>	Revue des arts asiatiques.
<i>RB</i>	Revue biblique.
<i>REÄ</i>	Revue des études anciennes.
<i>RGTC</i>	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes (= TAVO Beihefte B 7), Wiesbaden.
<i>RLA</i>	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie, Berlin 1928-.
<i>SAA</i>	State Archives of Assyria, Helsinki.
<i>SAAS</i>	State Archives of Assyria Studies, Helsinki.
<i>SbMünch</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, (Phil.-hist. Klasse), München.
<i>SbÖAW</i>	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Phil.-hist. Klasse), Wien.
<i>SNG Cop.</i>	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals. Danish National Museum, 43 fascs., Copenhagen 1942-1979.
<i>SNG France II</i>	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. France II: Cabinet des Médailles, Cilicie, E. Levante, Zürich 1993.
<i>SNG Levante</i>	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Switzerland, I: Levante-Cilicia, E. Levante, Bern 1986.

<i>SNG von Aulock</i>	Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum. Deutschland. Sammlung von Aulock, 19 fascs., Berlin 1957-1981.
<i>SNR</i>	Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau.
<i>StIr</i>	Studia Iranica.
<i>TAPhA</i>	Transactions of the American Philological Association.
<i>TAVO</i>	Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Tübingen.
<i>TCL</i>	Textes cunéiformes, Musée du Louvre, Paris.
<i>TehForsch</i>	Teheraner Forschungen, Berlin.
<i>Tod</i>	M.N. Tod, <i>A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions</i> II, Oxford 1948.
<i>TUAT</i>	Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments, Gütersloh.
<i>TvG</i>	Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis.
<i>UCP</i>	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology, Berkeley.
<i>UMI</i>	University Microfilms, Ann Arbor.
<i>VAB</i>	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek, Leipzig.
<i>VAS</i>	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin, Berlin.
<i>VigChr</i>	Vigilae Christianae.
<i>WO</i>	Welt des Orients.
<i>WVDOG</i>	Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, Leipzig – Berlin.
<i>WZKM</i>	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.
<i>YOS</i>	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts, New Haven.
<i>ZA</i>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie.
<i>ZDMG</i>	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft.

## PREFACE

This volume is dedicated to the memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg who died on 28. May, 2000 in Utrecht, just five days after her fifty-sixth birthday. She had been suffering from cancer for the last four years. With her passing, the study of ancient Iran has lost an exceptional scholar.

Heleen began her studies in classical languages and history in Leiden, and moved on to research under the supervision of Professor W. den Boer, a specialist in Greek history. Her interest in early Iran arose from an engagement with the classical Greek period, which has provided such potent, but problematical, images of Achaemenid history. For her PhD thesis, she set herself the task (and it became a perennial theme) of trying to disentangle the complex realities of the Achaemenid empire from the distorting web created by Greek literary conventions. To do this, she studied Old Persian, mainly on her own, and Iranian archaeology with Louis Vanden Berghe in Ghent. The fruits of her work appeared in her doctoral dissertation, *Yaunā en Persai: Grieken en Perzen in een ander perspectief* (defended in Leiden, 22. May, 1980). The first, and perhaps most important, chapter was a detailed analysis of Xerxes' well-known daiva inscription, in which she argued forcefully against attempts to connect its statements with historical events, setting it instead into the context of the formal rhetoric of Old Persian kingship, which began with Darius I's Behistun inscription. This, in effect, detached the text from Xerxes as an individual, and was a crucial first step in reassessing the significance not just of Xerxes' reign, but the entire history of the Achaemenid empire in the later fifth and fourth centuries. Her approach is well-illustrated by the article on Xerxes in the Vanden Berghe Festschrift (1989; now reprinted in *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*, Leiden 2002).

The problems raised in interpreting the diversity of sources available for Achaemenid history, the temptation to fit them into a picture congruent with the image derived from Greek narratives, and the inevitable resulting sterility in terms of historical understanding, inspired Heleen to set up the Achaemenid History Workshops, following her appointment to a lectureship in ancient history at Groningen University (1975). Begun in 1980 in Groningen, with a small group of Dutch scholars, the Workshops became, from 1983 onwards, an annual event drawing together a group of scholars from across the world.

Following the 1983 session, Heleen co-opted Amélie Kuhrt to assist with subsequent meetings. Plans drawn up by the two in 1984 provided for six further workshops, which would explore broad issues and would cease in 1990. All were held in Groningen, save 1985 (London) and 1990 (Ann Arbor, Michigan). The organisation was important: each Workshop focused on a specified theme, on which contributions were solicited; all papers were circulated in advance; the one and a half day Workshop sessions were devoted solely to discussion and the number of participants limited to c.30. The results were electrifying as the debates gathered momentum. One left at the end of these intense days, exhausted but exhilarated, full of new ideas, information and approaches. Apart from the first two, all the Workshops were published (Achaemenid History I-VIII, Leiden 1987-1994), with contributors asked to modify their papers in the light of issues raised in the course of the sessions. They form the first eight volumes of the continuing Achaemenid History series, four further volumes of which have already appeared: M.B. Garrison & M.C. Root, *Persepolis Seal Studies* (AchHist IX), Leiden 1996/1998; P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse*, 2 vols. (AchHist X), Leiden 1996 [co-published with Fayard, Paris]; M. Brosius & A. Kuhrt (eds.): *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis* (AchHist XI), Leiden 1998; D. Kaptan, *The Daskyleion Bullae: Seal Images from the Western Achaemenid Empire*, 2 vols. (AchHist XII), Leiden 2002 [2003]. This volume constitutes the thirteenth in the series, and proposals for a further four are under consideration.

The impact of the Workshops has been, and continues to be, immense in setting a new agenda for studying the Achaemenid empire, which in turn has had important repercussions on assessments of Alexander the Great and the hellenistic phase of Middle Eastern history. This is well illustrated by, for example, the numerous studies by Pierre Briant, an influential participant of the Workshops, and also reflected in the re-assessments of the Seleucid empire by Susan Sherwin-White and Amélie Kuhrt (1987 & 1993). It was a tribute to Heleen's achievement in putting Achaemenid history, through the medium of the Workshops, 'on the map' as a crucial, indeed central, factor in making sense of the history of the first millennium BC, that she was chosen to hold the Dutch Professorship in Ann Arbor, Michigan (1989-1990), followed by her appointment to the Chair of Ancient History in Utrecht in the spring of 1990 and her subsequent election to the Dutch Research Council.

All the contributors to this volume have been the beneficiaries of her wide-ranging interest in all aspects of Achaemenid history, be it the architecture and iconography of Persepolis and Pasargadae (Seidl, Root, Boucharlat), the Elamite texts from Persepolis (Henkelman), the empire's structure (Jacobs, Wiesehöfer), its impact beyond the heartland (Briant, Gürtekin-Demir, Kaptan,

Stolper), Greek relations with Persia (Brosius), problems of historiography (Van der Spek, Kuhrt) and travellers to Persepolis (Gunter).

Although the Achaemenid History Workshops are, and will remain, Heleen's most lasting memorial, her other work should not be forgotten. Her complete bibliography, included in this volume (pp. 1-7 below), attests to the wide range of her interests. Heleen wrote a mass of stimulating articles on Persian topics, varying from a series of fundamental analyses of the pernicious influence of 'orientalism' on Achaemenid studies ('Decadence in the Empire or Decadence in the Sources' 1987, 'The Fifth Oriental Monarchy and Hellenocentrism' 1987, etc.) and a revolutionary approach to the 'Median empire' ('Was there ever a Median Empire?' 1988, 'The Orality of Herodotus' Medikos Logos' 1994) to discussions of the royal practice of gift-giving ('Gifts in the Persian Empire' 1989), 'Political Concepts in old-Persian Inscriptions' (1993), historiography ('The Persian King and History' 1999) and orality ('The Death of Cyrus' 1985). Her method of close-reading the royal inscriptions, which she first developed in her treatment of the daiva inscription (see above), was continued in recent studies on the Yauna ('Yauna, those by the sea and those across the sea' 2001, 'The Problem of the Yauna' 2003). Heleen's interest for multi-disciplinary approaches arose from her participation in a series of workshops organised by Dutch anthropologists, which lead to a series of publications (in Dutch) on the Achaemenid empire from an Early State perspective (1980, 1981, 1983, 1984, 1986, 1987, 1994, 1995). In addition, Heleen was closely involved in, and an active contributor to, the growing field of study on women in antiquity. In this sphere, an article of particular interest for those involved in Achaemenid history is 'Exit Atossa: images of women in Greek historiography on Persia' (1983/1993), a seminal and much quoted study. Heleen also became ever more interested in the history of food and eating, and co-edited a popular book on the history of food (with sample recipes), which reached the bestseller list in The Netherlands in the summer of 1994. On a more serious note, her 'Persian food and political identity' (1995) is a thought-provoking piece of work, exploring 'national' stereotyping via ideas about eating.

Much of her energy in recent years was devoted to early travellers' descriptions of Achaemenid sites. The Ninth Achaemenid History Workshop (1989) had already focussed on this subject. Simultaneously, Heleen organised an exhibition of relevant books and drawings, accompanied by a volume discussing, for example, the limitations imposed on European visitors to Persian sites by prevailing artistic ideas and conventions. This abiding interest was taken further in her involvement with a group interested in the Dutch eighteenth century traveller, Cornelis de Bruijn, leading to the publication of a co-edited book by the 'De Bruijn Gezelschap' on his journeys ('Ik hadde de nieuwsgierigheid.' *De*

*reizen door het Nabije Oosten van Cornelis de Bruijn (ca. 1652-1727)*, Leiden – Leuven, 1997). Heleen co-organised exhibitions on the early travellers at Groningen (1989) and Ann Arbor (1990) and on Cornelis de Bruijn in Amsterdam (1998). Following her initiative, the 'De Bruijn Gezelschap' is now planning a re-edition of Cornelis de Bruijn's works.

In the last decade, Heleen also returned, productively, to early Greek history and the history of classical scholarship. Just a few days before her death, the papers from a conference on Peisistratos, which she had organised and edited were published (*Peisistratos and tyranny: a Reappraisal of the Evidence*, Amsterdam 2000), which overturns much conventional wisdom on the nature of the early Athenian state. In September 2000, a symposium on the classical tradition, which Heleen had been busy arranging in the last few months of her life, was held in Athens. Refusing to cancel her own contribution which focused on yet another of her interests, the novel *Xerxes* by Louis Couperus, she had her paper (2003) read in her absence at the symposium.

Heleen was very sensitive to the need of divulging academic knowledge. Taking heed of what she felt to be her 'academic obligations' she wrote a concise introduction, in Dutch, to the history of the Achaemenid Empire (*Geschiedenis van het Perzische Rijk*, Bussum 1982). In addition, she wrote numerous articles for a non-specialist public and was closely involved in setting up semi-academic courses on a variety of subjects.

Before her appointment at Groningen, Heleen had been a history teacher at various high schools for eight years. This provided a solid basis for her academic teaching: in the History Department at Utrecht, Heleen was renowned for her great educational skills and the energetic way in which she organised the ancient history curriculum. Students who showed a certain ambition could always count on her personal involvement and enthusiasm, while here colleagues were constantly given fresh ideas on current and future programmes. In these areas too, Heleen had a keen eye for new approaches; on one occasion she silenced the entire staff with a fully developed, radical plan for computer-aided teaching, which has now been successfully implemented in Utrecht. Heleen was one of the first to realise how beneficial the digital revolution could be for Achaemenid studies; the developing Achemenet project ([www.achemenet.com](http://www.achemenet.com)) would certainly have found an ardent supporter in her.

In all these diverse areas she was immensely active: writing, lecturing, fostering public interest, teaching, opening up new perspectives. She was a stimulating speaker, with a fluent command of English, Italian, French and German, alongside her native Dutch, and thus in constant demand. In The Netherlands, she gave unstintingly of her time addressing (in over 80 lectures) a variety of non-specialist audiences; she also lectured extensively in the United States, Canada and England and was invited to speak in France, Italy, Germany,

Poland, Greece, Turkey and South Africa. In what has turned out to be a tragically brief life, she has been, with her acute intellect and personal generosity, almost single-handedly responsible for revitalising the study of early Persian history, in a manner that has changed our field enduringly. We end by quoting this tribute from Pierre Briant's preface to his *Histoire de l'empire perse* (1996: 12):

"Dans mon histoire intellectuelle, l'année 1983 est marquée d'une pierre blanche. C'est à cette date en effet que, pour la première fois, j'ai participé à un *Achaemenid Workshop* à Groningen, à l'invitation d'Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg qui, bientôt rejointe par Amélie Kuhrt, avait lancé une série qui devait s'interrompre en 1990 à Ann Arbor [...]. Pour la première fois, j'ai eu conscience de ne plus travailler isolément [...]. J'ai pu côtoyer alors la «communauté achéménédissante» qui, réduite en nombre, présente l'incalculable avantage d'être internationale et d'être liée par des rapports d'amitié. J'ai pu alors, d'une manière plus systématique, mener des discussions à partir d'une problématique historique clairement posée par les organisatrices, et à partir de corpus documentaires aussi variés que l'étaient les pays de l'Empire. [...] L'initiative d'Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg a donné une impulsion radicalement nouvelle aux recherches achéménides."

Leiden,  
May 2003

Wouter Henkelman  
Amélie Kuhrt

**HELEEN SANCISI-WEERDENBURG**  
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THE LIONESS OF ELAM:  
POLITICS AND DYNASTIC FECUNDITY AT PERSEPOLIS\*

Margaret Cool Root – Ann Arbor

*For Gabriella and Igor*

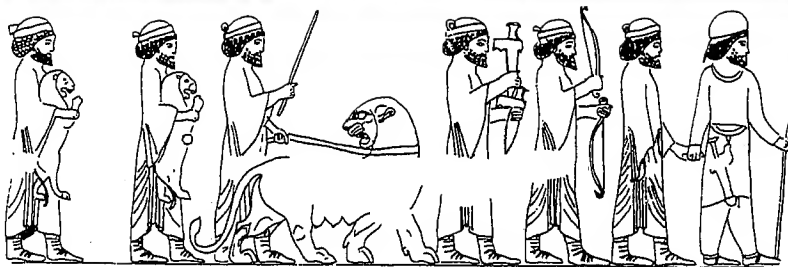
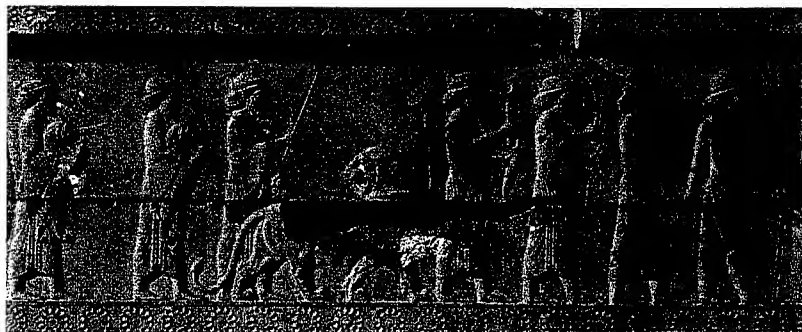
Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg's thoughtful discussion of women in the historiography of the Achaemenid Persian empire (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983) has given me the theme for this tribute to her memory. I honor her as an intellectual charismatic of tremendous insightfulness, as a dear friend, and (yes, oh yes) as the devoted mother of Gabriella and Igor.

Heleen notes somewhat wryly in 1983 (22-23) that the only female figure in the entire program of architectural sculpture at Persepolis is an animal: the lioness accompanying the Elamite delegation on the stairway reliefs of the Apadana (figs. 1a-b). Even this representation, she posits, was prompted solely by practical issues rather than by any interest in the female as an entity of intrinsic importance. The lioness, she considers, was included simply because the young age of the lion cubs grasped by gift-bearers in this delegation demanded the subsidiary presence of their nursing mother. But she goes on to say at the same place that,

Apparently it is no accident that Persepolis in stone, as we know it, is an all male gathering. One should be careful, however, [not] to rush to conclusions based on the absence of women and to assume that women did not play an important role in Iranian society. The Persian sources merely do not allow any conclusion whatsoever.

\* I wish to extend heartfelt thanks to Wouter Henkelman and Amélie Kuhrt for conceiving of this commemorative volume and also for their excellent editorial comments and practical assistance. It has been a wonderful process, invoking memories of the Achaemenid History Workshop days, to talk about interesting things (albeit, this time, over email) with these two colleagues who care so much.

In this brief paper, I shall let the lioness lead me where she may in a preliminary reappraisal of selected aspects of the Elamite delegation as representative of the role of Elam more generally in the dynastic dynamic of empire portrayed at Persepolis.



*Figs. 1a-b: The Elamite delegation on the east stair of the Apadana at Persepolis (photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).*

The Apadana reliefs present a metaphor of kingship and harmoniously ordered hegemony (Root 1979). This metaphor plays itself out in mirror image on both staircases (north and east) that give access upward to the vast audience hall from the open parade ground on the Takht (the ceremonial and administrative citadel of the city). It is an elaborate display, with subtle nuances both of its intended strategies of meaning and of its possible received meanings by variant contemporary readers. Many of these nuances still need basic investigative and interpretive attention. The Elamite delegation offers much to contemplate. The representational system of the Apadana is constructed of layered, quasi-narrative elements charged with liminality. The original central panel presents the king and crown prince (in timeless hieratic splendor) receiving an official. The posture of this personage is in compelling contrast to the royal pair. He is shown in the middle of his courtly bow, thus projecting a provocative

instability. This instability marks the imminence of activity on the long wings of relief to either side of the central panel. Behind the bowing official a wing of gift-bearing delegates from the peoples of the empire are shown about to move forward. The leader of each delegate group has been taken by the hand by a court usher in order to proceed in formation toward the king. There is a sense of tension – a sense of moment – that is partly conveyed through the intensity of associations of the hand-holding motif in ancient Near Eastern cultures (Root 1979). On the other wing of the façade (to the back of the king and prince) nobles of the court are drawn up in the aftermath of a procession that brought the royalty to their ceremonial site. They await the commencement of the gift-giving ceremony that is gearing up on the other side. The pregnant aspect of the nobles' 'awaiting' evolves from a display of palpable excitement and interpersonal activity at the back end of the ranks to a marked stillness-at-attention that grips the ranks nearest the central panel. The Apadana is, thus, in many respects a sculptural endeavor of subtle narrative-time complexity (Root 1985).

Within this structure, the Elamite delegation holds a special place in terms of macro-issues of narrativity and also in terms of micro-issues of discrete symbolical allusions. An analysis of this portion of the relief brings to the forefront a range of interesting questions about sexual/procreative allusiveness at Persepolis and about the place of Elam (as the featured vehicle for the figural aspect of this allusiveness) in the historical imagination of the Achaemenid dynasty. The Elamite delegation is indeed the only one in which an explicitly female animal is shown, just as it is indeed the only representation of an explicitly female figure (animal or human) on the entirety of the program of architectural sculpture at Persepolis. The femaleness of the adult lion brought by the Elamites is conveyed very obviously by her lack of mane, her full, pendulous teats, and her fiercely snarling maternal gaze directed backward toward her two male cubs. Each cub is clasped tightly to the chest by an Elamite. There are many visual elements in this scenario that are unique on the Apadana. This is the only delegate group in which baby animals appear and thus the only one in which animals are carried rather than led forward. It is the only group in which any sort of narrative interaction is portrayed between the animals or between the animals and their caretakers. And it is the only group in which the animals' voices are given visual expression. The cubs' mouths are open as if either crying pathetically for mother, 'talking back' to her, or being generally disruptive as befits their age. Whether the mother's snarling speaks hostility to the human handlers or a warning to her cubs that they should behave decorously at the court is beyond my interpretive powers to suggest with assuredness. Based on other elements of the lioness's persona (see below) I am inclined to the latter. The tense forms of the cubs imply a lively energy held in check with some

difficulty – thus reinforcing for me the sense that their mother is admonishing them rather than their handlers.

At any rate, all this communication and activity contrasts dramatically with the muteness and passivity of the other animals about to be offered to the king. The uniqueness of the interactive aspect of the lioness and her cubs is especially notable because this entire wing of the façade is otherwise markedly restrained. While, as we have noted, the Persian nobles ranged on the wing behind the king display physical interaction amongst themselves, the gift-bearers moving toward the king are all self-contained. In two of the better-preserved groups on the eastern façade, the lead delegate holds up his hand toward the shoulder of his usher. These are groups 5 (Babylonians) and 8 (Assyrians). But there are no interactive gestures or gazes displayed between one delegate and another on preserved portions of this program.<sup>1</sup>

The interactive aspect of the lioness and her cubs links them to a tradition in Neo-Assyrian representations of warfare, where families of herbivores (especially cattle and sheep) are frequently depicted as captives. These animal families display lively interaction, sometimes with an adult anxiously turning to check on the young (fig. 2). On the Apadana, the old motif of poignancy glimpsed through the animal family in captivity has been radically reworked. Its message in Assyrian art has been completely subverted in the service of a different and more complex message.

The animals and their interactive narrative aspects are not the only unique features of the Elamite frame on the Apadana reliefs. The Elamite humans are the only delegates who wear the pleated garment that becomes the Persian court robe (Hachmann 1995: figs. 7-8 highlights this graphically). I will not discuss this feature of uniqueness further here, but it deserves more consideration in a larger context of the symbolic aspects of dress at Persepolis.

Other than the lioness and her cubs (and their Elamite keepers), the Elamite delegation also incorporates two members who carry other gifts: the bearer of two duck-head bows and the bearer of two daggers with distinctive asymmetrical scalloped handle-guard. Only eight of the twenty-three delegate groups bring any weaponry. Given the sometimes divergent identifications of

<sup>1</sup> It is possible, of course, that such elements once existed on the much-mutilated north stair, which was the first carved and in certain respects has interesting details not replicated on the eastern façade. Most of the Elamite delegation on the north stair is now missing from waist level upward (Schmidt 1953: pl. 28). Any new information that could possibly be derived from the emergence of lost fragments here will not, however, change the overall thrust of my observations.

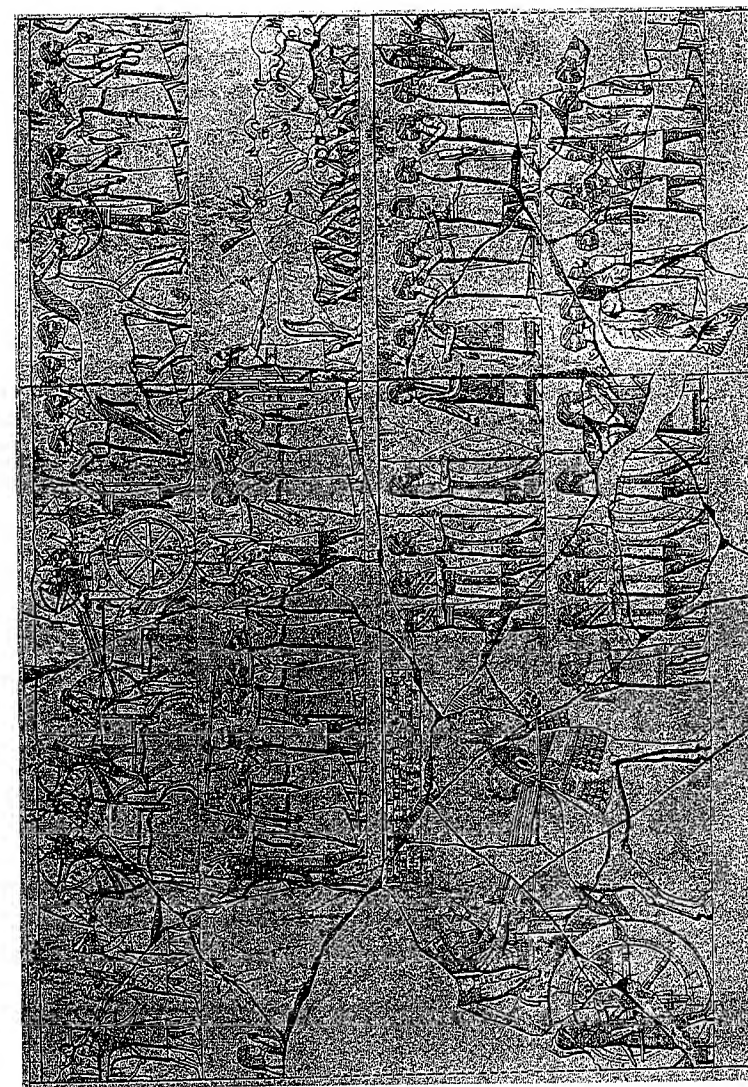


Fig. 2. Drawings by Boucher of reliefs from Nineveh showing (1) Elamite wars and the head of Teumman hung around the neck of an Elamite and (2) a family of cattle led off as prisoners (after Gadd 1936, pl. 34).

Roaf (1974: 149) and Hachmann (1995: 213), in that order separated by ‘//’ where they differ, these are groups:

- |                                                    |                                                                   |
|----------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1 Medes:                                           | one <i>akinakes</i>                                               |
| 2 Elamites:                                        | two daggers with scalloped handle-guards;<br>two duck-headed bows |
| 14 Gandharians//Indian peoples (?):                | five spears; one shield                                           |
| 17 Sogdians//Chorasmians//<br>Saka Haumavarga (?): | one <i>akinakes</i> ; two plain axes                              |
| 18 Indians//Indian peoples (?):                    | two double-axes                                                   |
| 19 Undetermined//Skudra:                           | two spears (?); two shields                                       |
| 21 Carians (?)//Cholchians:                        | one spear; one shield                                             |
| 22 Libyans:                                        | one (or two?) spear[s]                                            |

The particular weapons brought by the Elamites are distinctive and unique as gifts on the Apadana. Both have been characterized as Elamite specialties (Potts 1999: 342-345; Calmeyer 1988, on the dagger) and both gain special symbolic resonance in Achaemenid culture. This resonance is reflected in their appearance in powerful contexts in the formative art of Darius (e.g., an elaborately decorated version of the dagger with asymmetrical scalloped handle-guard on the statue of Darius from Susa and the duck-head bow carried by Darius and his bow-bearer on the Behistun relief and on his tomb facade (Root 1979: pls. X and VI). No other delegate group on the Apadana brings either one of these specific weapon forms. More remarkable still, no other group brings *any* type of bow. This is surprising. Supreme significance was attached to prowess with the bow in Achaemenid royal rhetoric and visual displays of kingship (Root 1979) and this ethos permeates later Iranian tradition as well (Knauth & Nadjmabadi 1975). Seals used on the Elamite Persepolis Fortification tablets (dating to Darius I) now confirm dramatically that imagery of the archer infuses the repertoire of motifs drawn upon by a broad social spectrum of court-related personages in the Achaemenid empire (Garrison 2000: 134-140; Garrison & Root [forthcoming a]). The officially promulgated ideal of the king as archer finds echo in a larger sphere of privately-commissioned art production.

Before the Achaemenid empire, bows and bowmanship generally had been closely linked to Elamite notions of royal persona. Waters has drawn attention to the large numbers of bows itemized as gifts to royalty in the Neo-Elamite archives from Susa (2000: 95). Bows and bowmanship figure prominently in Potts's discussion of Elamite history (Potts 1999). A dramatic story played out on Ashurbanipal's reliefs and texts describes the Elamite prince Ituni (a son of Teumman) breaking his bow before being executed by an Assyrian soldier (Gadd 1936: pl. 27). The tableau is poignantly and remarkably

evocative of Jeremiah 49:35: "Behold, I will break the bow of Elam, the chief of their might." In combination with the Biblical text, the relief reinforces our sense of the depth of Assyrian association of the Elamite royal bow with the identity of the Elamite royal house during the course of the Elamite wars (Root: 1979: 165). About 150 years later the Achaemenids seem to have been fully aware of this same Elamite ethos of the royal house and the bow. I postulate that the Achaemenids were also aware of the propagandistic ironies of representation to which the bow and associated imagery was put by the Assyrians. This postulate helps explain the unusual features of the representation of the Elamite delegation at Persepolis. Here, we seem to witness a calculated inversion of the Assyrian visual rhetoric.

On the palatial reliefs at Nineveh there is an extended narrative sequence developing the theme of the death of King Teumman and the subsequent treatment of his severed head (fig. 2). At the end of the saga, Teumman's head hangs from a tree in the famous victory-banquet relief of Ashurbanipal and his queen in the upper-story of Room S in the North Palace. A duck-head bow is also featured prominently here, on a table of war trophies next to the dining couch of Ashurbanipal. This early example of 'product placement,' meant very specifically to advertise and reinforce a connection of this specific type of bow with Elamite kingship and hence with Ashurbanipal's victory over Elam.<sup>2</sup> The dessicated head of King Teumman hangs in the tree to the left of the central scene of intimacy of the Assyrian royal couple. The bow of Elam now lies disempowered on the little palace table, at the opposite side of the focal composition (fig. 3). On the fringes, subjugated members of the Elamite royalty have been effectively emasculated, forced to pose as servants, brow-beaten by a cadre of Assyrian palace eunuchs (Albenda 1976; Reade 1976; here fig. 4).

The central scene here (fig. 3) is so often illustrated that it is hard to remember that it is unique in depicting the king with his queen within the known repertoire of Assyrian palace orthostat reliefs, including other banquet scenes.<sup>3</sup> Pitiful, mute remnants of the Elamite royal house (now well beyond propagation or proliferation) have provided stimulus (a royal turn-on, if you will) for the festive preamble to what will surely be an amorous interlude. The

<sup>2</sup> Albenda (1977: 225) offers an important and extensive interpretive framework for this point, although she considers the duck-head bow as an allusion to victories over the Babylonians. In the context of the Assyrians' visualizations of the Elamite war sequences, combined with points made above, the Elamite connection is far more likely and more generally accepted.

<sup>3</sup> See Reade 1987, who discusses some little-known representations of an Assyrian royal wife in other media.



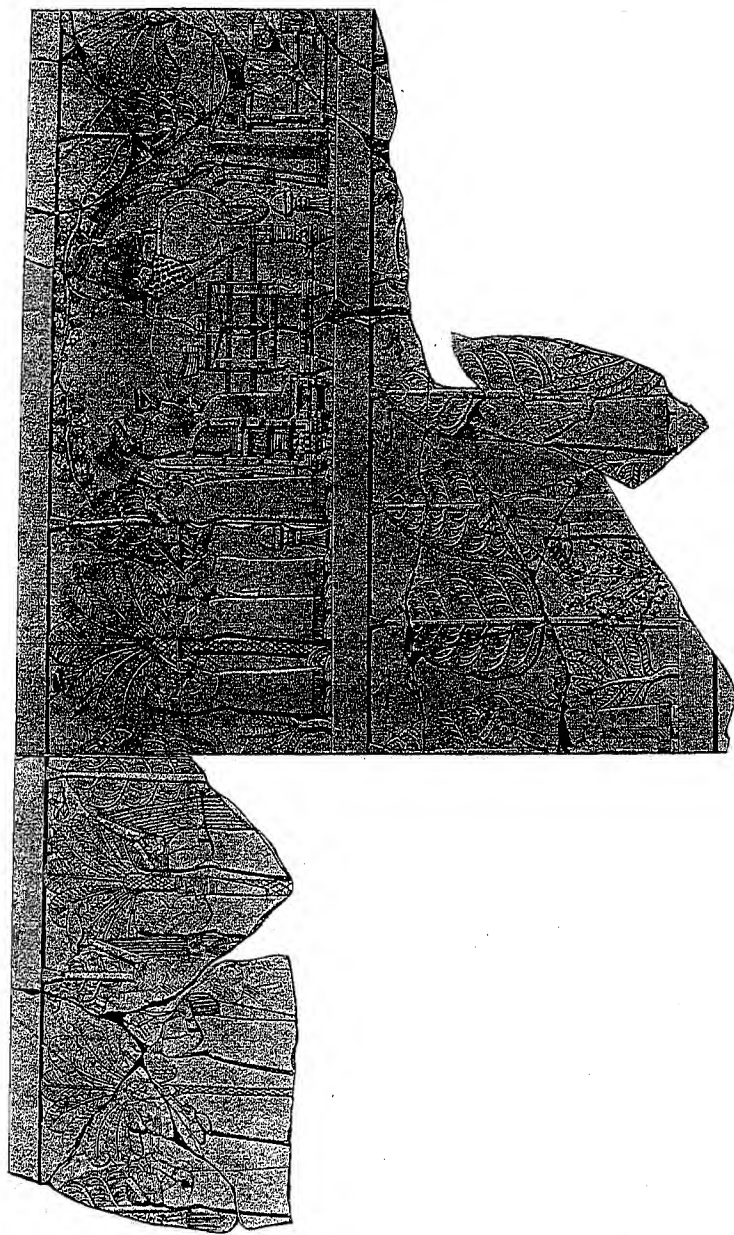
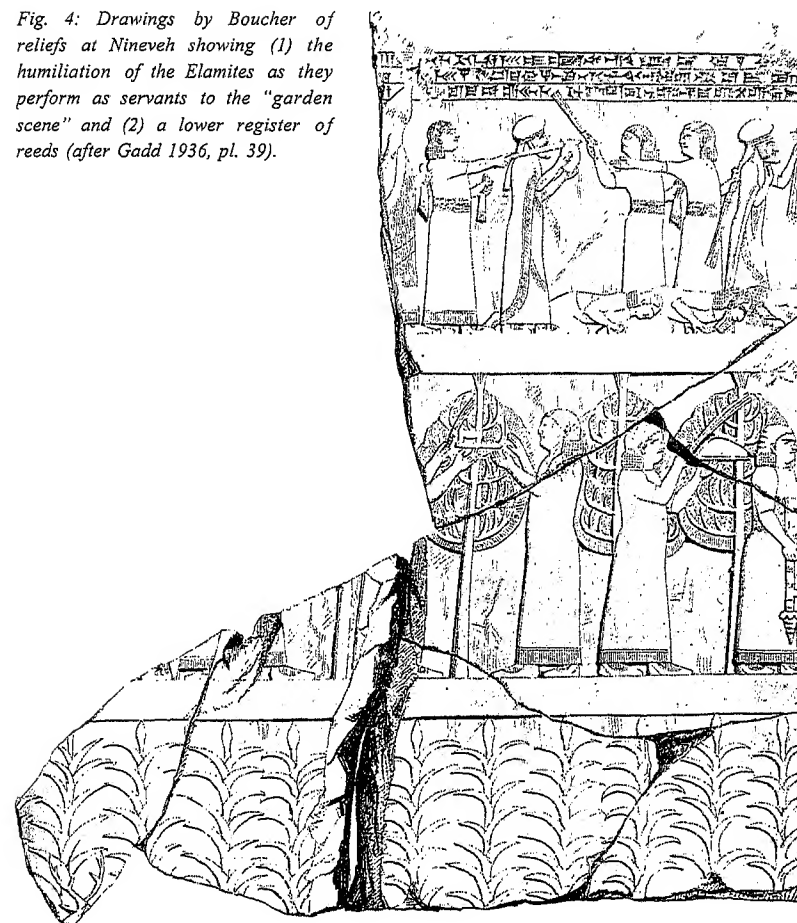


Fig. 3: Drawing by Boucher of the "garden scene" from Nineveh showing the head of Teumman and the Elamite bow (after Gadd 1936, pl. 40).

Fig. 4: Drawings by Boucher of reliefs at Nineveh showing (1) the humiliation of the Elamites as they perform as servants to the "garden scene" and (2) a lower register of reeds (after Gadd 1936, pl. 39).



(sexual) prowess of Ashurbanipal will soon be played out on the couch under a canopy of lush vines set within a grove of trees allusive of various forms of abundance co-mingled with allusions to nature complicit in Ashurbanipal's victory. His prowess in these related matters of manliness has already been played out on the battle field (against the Elamites) and in the hunting park (against lions).

Assyrian representations (both visual and textual) display a direct connection between the destruction of the Elamite royal house and the Assyrian king's hunting of lions. Below the banquet scene of Ashurbanipal and his queen,

in the first floor of Room S, we see culminating moments in victories over the lion. The first and second floors seem meant to address each other in some insider palace dialogue.

The killing of the lion had great symbolic charge in Neo-Assyrian iconography (e.g., Cassin 1987: 167-213, esp. 188-213; Maul 1995). It was an allegory of political-military domination but it had multiple associations relating to virility, royal potency, and an intricate web of symbiotic notions in nature as also in culture. The king was a lion of a man. The lion was a king among the beasts of the wild. Both beings were part of the world of Ishtar, whose animal attribute was the lion. The military allegory is certainly one major strand of a complex ideological system. In certain instances, the captive lions hunted down in the Assyrian royal gardens may have been meant to suggest a literal reference to conquest as well as an allegorical one. The lions depicted on Assyrian reliefs are native to the once densely wooded regions of southwestern Iran (the riverine forest of Khuzestan and the oak forest of the Zagros) as well as to ancient Mesopotamia. They may have alluded to prides that were raided across the border in Elamite territory – in a theft of symbolic magnificence. Graphic portrayals of male and female lions devastated by the king's arrows in the same visual framing on the palace reliefs surely represented an allegorical statement of the capacity of the Assyrian king to decimate entire (lion) populations though the destruction of the procreative potentials of the mated pairs (e.g., Reade 1999: figs. 81-82, 86, 88; here fig. 5). The occasional vignettes of lion couples in repose in the royal parks before the hunt reinforce this sense of the male and female lion groups as paradigms of a captive alien royal family (Reade 1999: fig. 80). One tableau from the Elamite war cycle at Nineveh shows a lioness hunting alone in the context of the capture of Elamite Ummanaldash (BM 124793). This scene is dramatically suggestive of the lioness as a surrogate for the Elamites, here shown in her native environment, but isolated from her mate as she forages.

Assyrian annals describe the raiding of lion habitats to capture the animals for breeding in the royal parks. The king is said to have slaughtered the leonine parents and then seized the young with his own hands (Cassin 1987: 195-196). In the ritualized scenarios of the hunt that ultimately ensued, the killing of the lion with a bow was a specific royal prerogative of the Assyrian ruler (Weissert 1997: 343). Reade has noted (2000) that among other foci of targeted vandalism on the reliefs of Nineveh there is a place where the lion's tail (grasped by the king) has been chiseled away. The intention was clearly to release the lion from Ashurbanipal's grip. Such acts seem to have been carefully designated. This particular one suggests that in the siege of Nineveh the allied forces were aware of the allegorical association in Assyrian palace art between the lion and the human foes of Assyrian might. This is one of several types of

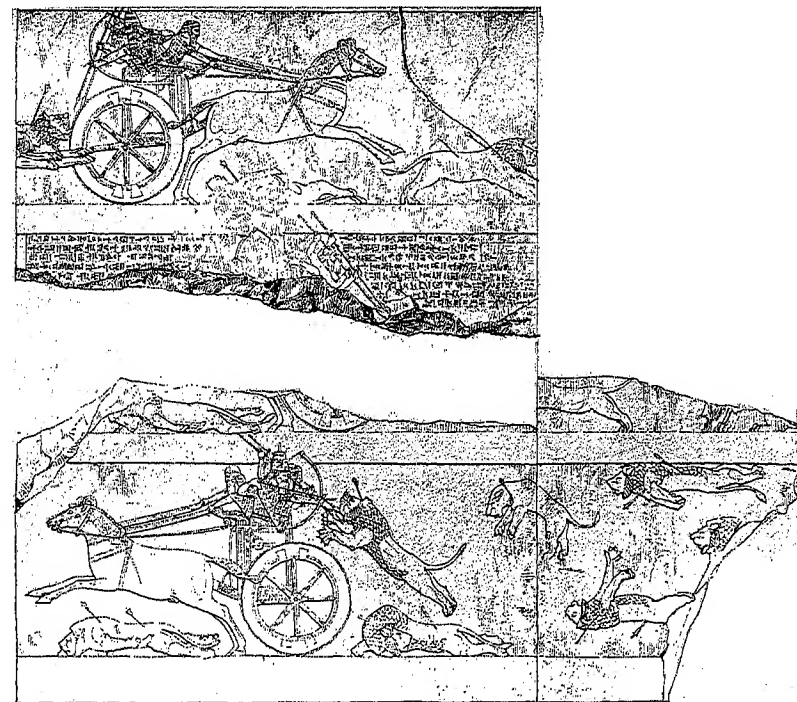


Fig. 5: Drawing by Boucher of reliefs at Nineveh showing the violent deaths of male and female lions in the royal hunt (after Gadd 1936, 37).

evidence demonstrating that the rhetorical strategies of the Assyrian kings were understood by those who had once been in positions of political/military subservience to them (including the Elamites and the Persians).

The display of the Elamites on the Apadana is utterly different from the scenes of battle-and-hunt carnage followed by scenes of gloating and even erotically-allusive victory presented on the walls of Nineveh. This contrast makes the representation of the lioness of Elam with her cubs even more intriguing. The human Elamite delegates are depicted in a mode of voluntarily bringing their specialty weapons to the Persian king as gifts of praise – as gifts of their royal tradition in a sense. So too, the lioness of Elam (while assertively protective of her young) is coming to the Persian king alive and with her regal dignity intact. She precedes her cubs; she is not being lured forward against her instincts of self-preservation by the ruse of the cubs' being dangled before her. This latter method of manipulating the movement of the mother lion was



probably well known as a practice. It is depicted in Sasanian and Roman art, where captured cubs are flaunted before their mother (with clearly rendered pendulous teats) to draw her toward death (Harper & Meyers 1981: 76-79 and pl. 25). Had the planners of the Apadana wished to suggest this type of helpless tormented luring of the lioness, they would have done so.

Taking together all that we have observed so far, two possibilities emerge for the meaning of the lioness and her cubs on the Apadana. (1) They might be intended as a grim reminder for the audience of Elamites and others at Persepolis that the royal family of Elam is no more. According to this interpretation, we would posit that the Elamite queen mother (lioness) and the royal heirs (male cubs) have been (symbolically speaking) removed to perpetual captivity in the palace of the Persian king. (2) The lion family might be intended to suggest a notion of the peaceful incorporation of the royal house of Elam within the Achaemenid arena of dynastic identity – the ongoing perpetuation of bonds between the Persians and the Elamites. In this context, the uniqueness of a figurative female figure at Persepolis specifically to the Elamite delegation (via the lioness) is indeed provocative. Elamite tradition from the Middle Elamite period of the second millennium into the Neo-Elamite period appears to emphasize displays of kingship in explicit figurative alignment to female court personages (e.g., Harper, Aruz & Tallon 1992: fig. 13 and nos. 80, 83, 140). This is in direct contrast to what we see on the walls of Persepolis (as Heleen has reminded us). The seals used on the Persepolis Fortification tablets reinforce this difference between Elamite visual tradition and Achaemenid Persian mores. On the entire corpus of PF tablets, there is only one figural representation of an elite female (non-divine) personage, here seated in splendor with attending women around her. This is a magnificent inscribed antique Elamite seal, PFS 77\*.<sup>4</sup> When we see PFS 77\* at Persepolis it is, however, used by a subsequent owner – and a man at that!

The Elamite tradition of display of the royal female personage was clearly available to the cultural memory of the Achaemenid court. But the Persepolis program has deliberately eschewed it. Instead, the Achaemenid program evokes the female in publicly visible displays (as far as we currently know them) only by non-direct means.<sup>5</sup> Official Achaemenid art does not portray a royal wife accompanying the king as an explicit representational

<sup>4</sup> Garrison and Root [forthcoming a]. See [www.achemenet.com](http://www.achemenet.com) for a periodically updated concordance of PF seal numbers to PF tablets.

<sup>5</sup> There were certainly some representations of women displayed in more private contexts of the heartland court circles (Spycket 1980).

image in publicly displayed art. Rather, it deploys symbols to denote a landscape redolent with dynastic female essences and with essences of dynastic potency more broadly.

The lioness of Elam and her cubs emerge as a figurative allegory populating this landscape and embedding within it specific historical commentaries on the importance of Elam and the Elamite legacies to the ongoing potency of the Persian dynastic project. The twelve-petaled rosettes that occur rhythmically and pervasively in the program of Persepolis are symbols of fertility, abundance, and probably also of cosmic notions of cyclical time (via allusion to the twelve months). The rosette (either eight-petaled or twelve-petaled) reaches way back in ancient Western Asia to its symbolic valences in connection with Inanna/Ishtar and (in Elam) to the goddess Narundi. In modern Iran, it is still a symbol of the sun, springtime, and the fertility of the new growing season. The importance of the symbolic associations of the rosette across multiple cultures and historical periods in western Asia (not least in Assyria and Elam) does not dilute its forces of meaning in this new cultural context. Particularly in the milieu of the Achaemenid empire, the weight and prestige of roll-over significances reinforced its appeal as a symbol inserted into an imperial vision with fresh aspects of allusiveness. The rosette was, for instance, an attribute of the distinctive Elamite court robe in Neo-Elamite times. This robe is adopted for the winged genius depicted on a doorjamb of the Gatehouse (Palace R) at Pasargadae in the reign of Cyrus II (Stronach 1978: 47-50 and pls. 43-5), where it was surely intended to invoke Elamite kingship (Amiet: 1974: 164; Root 1979: 302-303). The importance of Elamite traditions (in art, letters, thought, and administrative enterprise) to the backdrop of Persian acculturation in Fars/Khuzestan during the first half of the first millennium can hardly be over-estimated.

Other features of the Apadana also emphasize fertility and abundance through floral symbolism: the cone-laden fir trees of Fars divide the foreign delegate groups into a paratactic grid; the pomegranates held by many of the nobles on the other wing of the façade system are a complex bisexual symbol where the stem is a sign for the male penis and the seeded fruit is a symbol of the ready womb; the lotuses held by king and crown prince on the original central panels are also symbols of sexuality and regenerative life. This mode of allusive visual discourse around multiple fruit and flower metaphors and symbols find fresh validity at the Qajar court of Iran (1785-1925) where so many echoes of Achaemenid legacy receive conscious reinvention in aid of another new dynastic project (Diba 1998: 35).

Rows of reed-like stalks terminating in papyrus flowers grow in the narrow triangular areas of the Apadana angle formations where the emblem of the lion and bull occupy the larger sector (e.g., Schmidt 1953: pl. 19; here figs.

6a-b). This floral element seems to be a highly-charged hybrid. The stalks suggest the reed thickets of marshland in their form, delicacy, and dense alignment. Such reedy growth occurs in Iran in the Khuzestan area of old Elam. In the natural world of the ancient habitat of southwestern Iran, it was in these once densely-reeded valleys that the Persian lioness sequestered herself to birth her young (Harrington 1977: 72). Depictions of reedy marshland were used earlier in Assyrian art to suggest the realm of wild nature in a hierarchy of flora and fauna moving from the untamed zone to the orchestrated zone of cultivation redolent with symbolic intention (fig. 4). The papyrus blooms crowning the reedy stalks at Persepolis add specifically to this symbolic tradition by invoking the dense wetlands of the Nile delta. In the cosmological world of Egyptian mythology, the papyrus plant flourished on the primeval mound (e.g., Shaw & Nicholson 1995: 219). It was out of the papyrus thicket that pharaoh emerged. We are well aware of the importance of Egyptian referents in the visualizations of Achaemenid ideology. Altogether, we have here the designation of an earthy environment redolent with notions of fertility in the real world and also in the mythical world of cosmological cycles. The likelihood that such referents were living ones in the imaginations of planners and many receivers of Achaemenid art is established and needs no further rehearsing here.

The reedy papyrus-blossomed vegetation forms the landscape frame for two image types at Persepolis. One image type is the heraldic emblem of human-headed, bull-eared winged lion creatures with horned headdresses of divinity that appears prominently on several stairway facades (e.g., Schmidt 1953: pl. 127 on the Palace of Darius; here fig. 7). The other image type is that of the lion and bull emblem already mentioned, appearing on the triangular sectors of all the preserved main staircase facades on the Takht. In both cases the reedy papyrus thicket is directly linked with lions, and with emblems that involve symbiosis of the lion and the bull in agendas of cosmic complicity and dynastic fertility.

The lion and bull emblem as we see it on the walls of Persepolis is often discussed as a symbol of cosmic significance (the confluence of Leo the sun and Taurus the moon) and sometimes as an allegorical representation of royal aggression (where the lion is the Persian king attacking a powerful enemy – the bull). It is certainly another polysemous entity. The cosmological reference to time – to spring (and hence to the annual cycle of fecundity) – is clear as one layer of meaning. But the notion that the emblem displays an explicit reference to military domination is more problematic. The presentation of the motif resembles the mating foreplay-protocol of the lion – not its hunting behavior (Root 2002: 201-203). This is art, not actuality. It is representation via symbolical association, not scientific documentary. The fact that both the lion and the bull are depicted as males does not make the sexual aspect of the motif

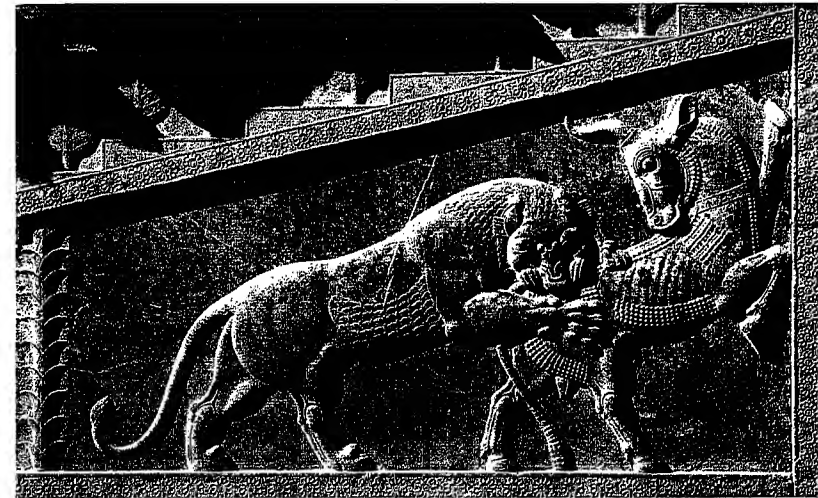


Fig. 6a: Apadana east stair: detail of lion and bull image showing beginning of the blossoming reeds, rosettes, and conifers of the gift-bearing registers (photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

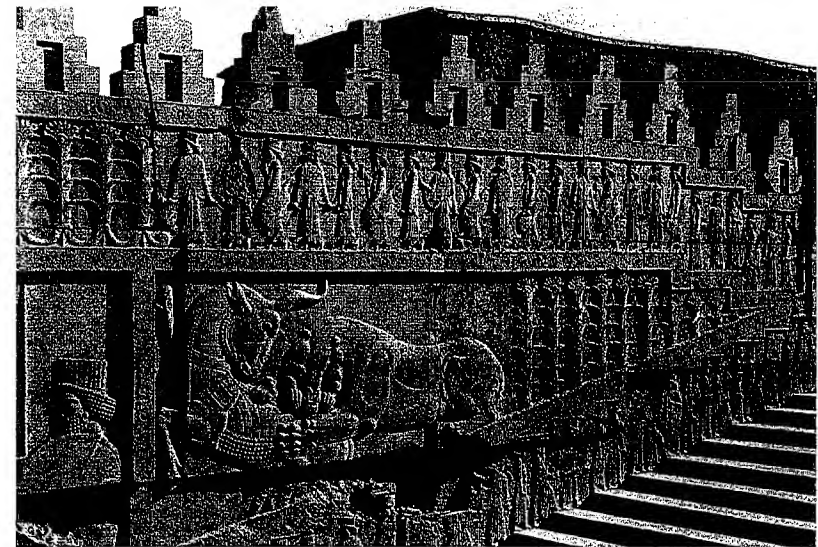


Fig. 6b: Council Hall north stair: lion and bull image amidst profusion of blossoming reeds and rosettes (photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

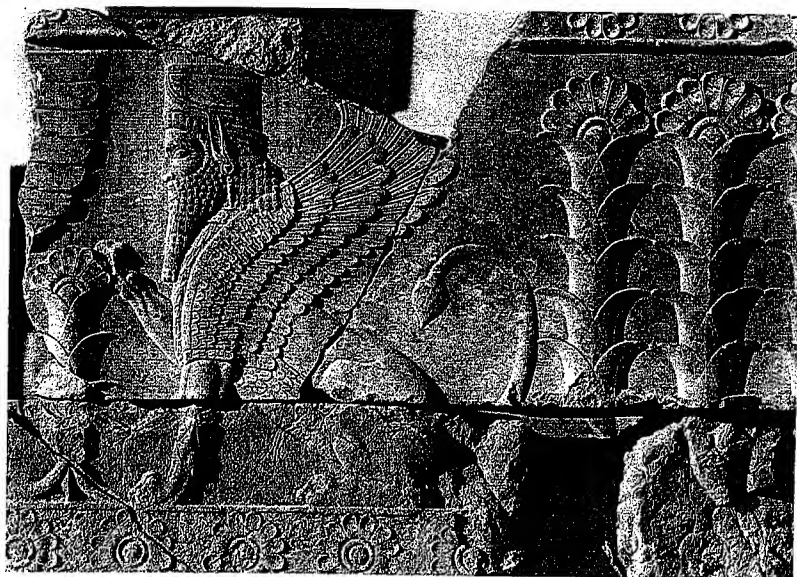


Fig. 7: View of sphinx on façade of the southern stairway of the Palace of Darius at Persepolis (photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

any less valid. Rather, this aspect adds force to a concept of bisexual synergy as a feature of the symbolic associations of the dynastic tradition. The lion and bull emblem as we see it at Persepolis is, quite simply, not about military aggression of the lion (as Persian) over the bull (as victim). On the Persepolis Fortification tablets many seals display a lion attacking prey in a somewhat realistic mode. In almost every such case,<sup>6</sup> the prey is, however, a deer, not a bull. There are only rare instances of the lion and bull in a symplegma formation even remotely akin to the monumental Persepolis motif. These suggest that the impetus behind the image was its cosmological inference around the sun and moon as givers of perpetual light rather than any notion of an allegory of military combat.<sup>7</sup>

On one level, the lion and bull symplegma on the staircases of Persepolis thus presents a portrayal of the idea of mating foreplay in the primeval wild. This provides a clear link with notions of fecundity of the human royal house, here allied to notions of cosmic time and the annual cycle of abundant renewal

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g., PFS 857s and PFS 142; cf. Root 1991: figs. 4-5; Garrison & Root [forthcoming b].

<sup>7</sup> Root 2002: 203; e.g., PFS 1532s in AchHist IX: figs. 1a-1b; *idem* [forthcoming b].

through the polysemous valences of the image. Specifically on the Apadana, the reedy habitat of natural abundance on the triangular sectors gives way to the elaborate representations of fruitfulness of the empire in a political sense. Here the notion is laid out in terms of the population of nobles and the richness of the material and human resources of the empire signaled by the gift-bearing delegations – all displayed within rosette-strewn grids punctuated by the lavishly fruited conifers of the royal lands of Fars.<sup>8</sup>

We now come full circle to the lioness and her cubs as a very special set of participants in this scenario. The lioness and her offspring relate to the sexually-charged male lion of the lion and bull symplegma. On one level, they portray the natural outcome of an unnatural pairing (of the two quintessential powerful male beasts). They are the royal family that ensues from the vigor of male power. The presence of the lioness and her cubs as a narrativized family group so intimately linked to the lion and bull image thus connects the Apadana relief to the entire built landscape of the Persepolis Takht. On this most distinguished of all gift-bearing units of the Apadana, the lion family of the Elamites enters the symbolic domain of the Persian royal house and seems to conjoin with it in a multiplicity of far-reaching narrative ambitions.

Male lion cubs appear again in only one monumental context at Persepolis: on two mirror-image sets of doorjamb-reliefs in the Palace of Darius (Root 1979: fig. 7 and pl. XVI; Schmidt 1953: pl. 147; here fig. 8) where each is grasped in a manner similar to that of the Apadana display – this time by ‘heroes’ who hold a dagger downward. Here the cubs are larger in relation to their handlers than they are on the Apadana, but they are still small enough to be held off the ground by a man. Leaving to one side for this context the issues of the pedigree of this mode of heroic mastery motif (Root 1990; Garrison & Root 2001), I would like to focus very briefly instead on the possible relationship of the lion cubs in the Palace of Darius with those on the Apadana. The symmetrical organization of paired sets of rooms in the Palace of Darius suggests activities duplicated simultaneously in identical spaces. This sense is enhanced by the fact that the royal robes of king and crown prince emerging from the rear chambers in two separate doorways are inscribed with their two distinct titles (Root 1979: 76-86). The program of sculpture in this building may be meant to allude to simultaneously performed ceremonies of investiture of some sort. In this context, the paired lion cubs appearing here and only here may have some symbolic relationship to the notions enacted in such a

<sup>8</sup> The conifers are also part of the visual discourse of fertility here, of course. Their fruitfulness bespeaks the fertility that is fostered by the king in his primeval Near Eastern role as developer and tender of irrigation and agrarian pursuits.

ceremony. Such notions would plausibly relate to issues of dynastic potency. This suggestion is made on the basis of what we know of the long history of



Fig. 8: View of the hero holding the lion on a doorjamb of the Palace of Darius at Persepolis (photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

fruitful succession; they are also a very special gift in that they have a specific notional role in a liturgy of investiture enacted (in some way that remains

such concepts conjoining kings and lions in the ancient Near East, combined with the operative assumption that the program in this building was carefully considered. It is noteworthy here that painted straps have been detected on the shoes of one of the royal representations in the Palace doorjambs (Tilia 1978: 55, n. 1). Straps on shoes go against the customary decorum for royal figures in the Achaemenid program. We may be seeing here a decision made after the carving had been done on these figures of the king and crown prince to add the straps in paint for a very specific reason. This decision would create a narrative link between the renderings of the royal figures in state emerging from the paired inner rooms of the palace still wearing the shoes one would wear to enact the part of the royal hero. I am not precisely saying here that in actuality the king and crown prince acted out roles of the royal hero (literally grappling with and/or stabbing animals and creatures within these walls). I am speaking of symbolic allusions to such highly-charged visions of royal prowess and dynastic dynamism that suggest at once the allegorical links between king and the powers of the wild and also the capacity of the king to overcome these forces if necessary.

Do the lioness of Elam and her two male cubs relate to the lion cubs shown in the Palace of Darius? I think it is quite likely. The lioness of Elam comes to Persia with her cubs. The cubs are a very special gift symbolizing dynastic identity and

elusive) by the king and his chosen successor simultaneously. It is no accident that on the original central panel of the Apadana the king and his crown prince are posed together to receive the gifts of the peoples of the empire. I remain convinced that the original central panels were planned and begun with this imagery emphasizing dynastic fruitfulness and succession in the reign of Darius (Root 1979: 86-95). The narrative link across Apadana and palace of Darius makes this even more appealing.

I hope I have suggested above ways in which the lioness of Elam and her cubs can be seen in a larger context of representation at Persepolis that is not, in fact, devoid of allusiveness to femaleness. But Heleen would not be content to let the question go at that. She was, after all, concerned in 1983 with what she perceived as a problem: the dearth of figural representations of human women in this environment where texts such as the Persepolis Fortification tablets clearly indicate that women could lead rather public and assertive lives. So in closing, I want to say a few words about how we can approach this apparent problem and recognize that it is perhaps a non-problem.

The monumental and publicly visible representation of a human female is not necessarily an index of the intrinsic value of womanhood within the (usually male) patron group. There are numerous historical situations we could examine in which the direct representation of the woman might at first blush seem to characterize a society in which womanhood (and the specific female individual) was acknowledged as intrinsically significant to the society. A good example is the plethora of fourth-century Attic grave stelai displaying elite wives/mothers. The inspiration for such presentations is likely, however, to have been far more complex and less driven by the honoring of any individual deceased female than by other societal forces offering the representation of womanhood as a useful option among the male populace commissioning the ostentatious portrayals of family virtues and wealth (e.g., the interesting commentary of Reeder 1995: 138-139 on the stele of Kallistrate). Our approach to such issues in ancient art could benefit from a seminal essay on Renaissance portraiture (Simons 1988) where portrayals of women have been read as containing subtle but very real clues that the representations advertise women's prestige value as display commodities (not as individuals) in a patriarchal society. Stated in more general terms: the inclusion of a prominent representation of a female personage does not necessarily denote her intrinsic significance as an individual. Conversely, the absence of publicly displayed figural representations of females is not necessarily an index of a lack of importance accorded to female personages in the patronage circle of a particular built environment. In some societies, demonstrably high-status and publicly-functioning/visible females known to us from various historical sources remain largely or completely hidden in terms of the representational mores of official

publicly-displayed art. The court culture of Achaemenid Persia seems (to the best of our knowledge so far) to have been one such society. In some settings, the very *latency* of *figural* representation of women (such as royal wives in a court context) may be a semiotic strategy meant to invoke larger notions of femaleness and the potency of dynastic procreative forces. Again, the court culture of Achaemenid Persia seems to fit the description.

Text-based studies of women in Achaemenid society have shown the diversified economic and social activities of specific females in public life (Brosius 1996; Koch 1994). The seals on the Persepolis Fortification tablets include examples used by two prominent royal wives of the court of Darius I (PFS 51 of Irdabama and PFS 38 of Irtašduna, Gk. Artystone). Neither of these seals depicts a female personage strictly speaking. PFS 51 is an antique Neo-Elamite seal, a beautiful heirloom product that may or may not have been originally owned by an earlier royal female personage (it is uninscribed). It

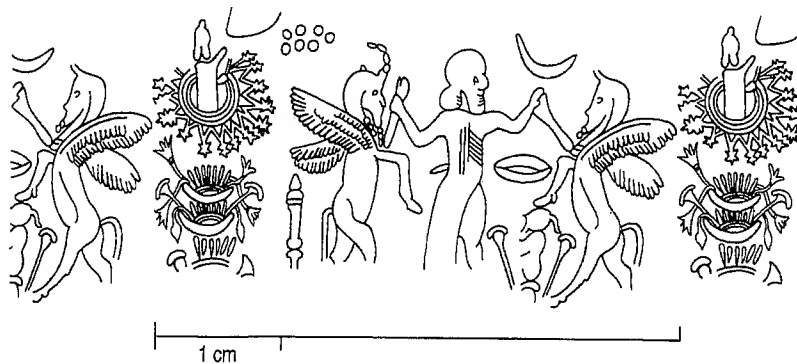


Fig. 9: Composite drawing of PFS 38, a seal of Irtašduna, royal wife of Darius I (courtesy of Garrison and Root and the Persepolis Seal Project).

displays a male on horseback who hunts fleeing quadrupeds with a spear (Garrison 1991: 4-7 and fig. 4; Garrison & Root [forthcoming a]). PFS 38 is not an heirloom; it is a piece commissioned in Achaemenid times. It is, however, an extraordinary archaizing seal evoking Neo-Assyrian artistic traditions, but with numerous highly idiosyncratic and lavish inclusions – not least allusions to the papyrus-habitat and royal-birth associations of the infant Horus as surrogate for the infant pharaoh (fig. 9).<sup>9</sup> The seal focuses upon a heroic control scenario,

<sup>9</sup> Garrison 1991: 7-10 and fig. 7 [now superceded]; Garrison & Root 2001: [cat.no. 16] 83-85 and pls. 10a-b, 11a-b.

with a glorious plethora of symbols in the field. Consistently the symbols suggest elements of fertility and procreation. Irtašduna herself is not depicted in figural form; yet patron choices deployed on the seal suggest that it was intended to express her identity as a royal woman through a symbolic program of allusive complexity. The central image of heroic control might be interpreted as a quintessentially 'macho' motif. But on PFS 38 even this image is infused with a distinctive spirit. A rare dance-like asymmetry flows through the figures. This asymmetry is in marked contrast to the staid verticality of the royal name seals in the Fortification archive, such as PFS 7\*, used in exalted official capacities during her husband's reign (fig. 10).<sup>10</sup> One might wish to argue that this seal shows that even a royal Achaemenid wife was not allowed to depict herself (in her boudoir, perhaps?) on her own seal. But one could argue alternatively and with more persuasiveness that Irtašduna's seal (and several other hero seals owned by women in the Fortification archive) demonstrates that (1) women had 'a privilege of access' to the courtly imagery of power par excellence and furthermore that (2), they had the privilege to work creatively to model that courtly imagery in distinctive ways.

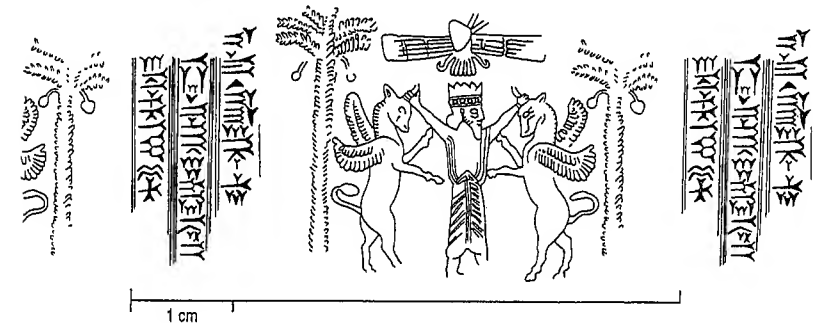


Fig. 10: Composite drawing of PFS 7\*, a royal name seal of Darius I (courtesy of Garrison and Root and the Persepolis Seal Project).

In this offering I have attempted to embrace a multitude of issues implied by the lioness of Elam. The Elamite delegation on the Apadana exhibits auras of striking uniqueness. These are displayed with reference to multiple referents: femaleness, aliveness, interactiveness, notions of family/dynastic relationship (allegorically through the animals). These links may even range to allusions to issues such as: (1) rituals (or metaphorically to representations suggestive of actual rituals), (2) distinctive links to/reminiscences of Elamite kingship through

<sup>10</sup> Garrison & Root 2001: [cat.no. 4] 68-70 and pl. 4a-d.



the special weapons that only they bring (and which have such a powerful implication in Achaemenid iconography), and (3) other suggestions of special status embedded in their costume. Although the lioness of Elam deserves more attention, I hope this initial foray will please (and even appease) Heleen's spirit simply by prompting further contemplation.

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## À PROPOS DU ROI-JARDINIER : REMARQUES SUR L'HISTOIRE D'UN DOSSIER DOCUMENTAIRE\*

Pierre Briant – Paris

C'est avec une profonde émotion que je dédie ces pages à la mémoire d'Heleen, avec laquelle j'ai eu tant de discussions animées, y compris sur les documents et la problématique qui nourrissent l'étude qui suit.

### 1. Rappels : le thème du roi-horticulteur à travers les sources classiques

La question de la « visibilité » de l'empire achéménide était au centre de la contribution présentée par Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg lors du « Workshop » qu'elle avait organisé en 1986 en collaboration avec Amélie Kuhrt, et qui fut publié quatre ans plus tard dans le volume IV de la série *Achaemenid History* (créée par ses soins près de l'Institut Néerlandais du Proche-Orient, NINO). Comme les éditrices le soulignaient dans leur Introduction (*AchHist* IV : xi-xv), le thème du Workshop (*Centre and Periphery*) s'insérait dans une discussion alors en cours sur le paradoxe d'un empire immense, dont les traces archéologiques sur le terrain étaient apparemment fort peu nombreuses. De manière à poser le problème dans toute son ampleur, Heleen avait choisi un titre provocateur : « À la recherche d'un empire insaisissable (*The quest for an elusive Empire*) » (1990). Margaret Root revint sur le sujet lors du Workshop 1988, dans un article au titre lui aussi évocateur : « From the Heart : powerful

\* Remerciements : le dossier iconographique a été rassemblé grâce à l'aide de Béatrice André-Salvini (Musée du Louvre), d'Andy Meadows (British Museum), de Sylvia Hurter (Bâle), de Paul Taylor (Warburg Institute, London), et de Marie-Françoise Clergeau (Collège de France). Olivier Casabonne a bien voulu me confier deux manuscrits avant publication (2003a-b) ; Koray Konuk (CNRS Bordeaux) m'a guidé dans le dédale des publications numismatiques ; Matt Stolper (OI Chicago) m'a orienté vers un article important du Père Scheil.

persianisms in the art of the western empire » (Root 1991).<sup>1</sup> J'avais eu moi-même l'occasion d'évoquer la question dans mes interventions aux Workshops 1983 (Briant 1987) et 1985 (Briant 1988), et j'y suis revenu plus longuement dans mon livre de 1996 (HEP), ainsi que dans mes Bulletins périodiques (BHACH I-II), y discutant la thèse défendue par R. Moorey d'un empire réputé quasi indétectable à travers les découvertes de l'archéologie, et insistant au contraire sur l'abondance des découvertes archéologiques et iconographiques.<sup>2</sup> Les plus récentes publications ont montré l'importance de la documentation iconographique dans le débat, autour de questions liées les unes aux autres que l'on peut formuler dans les termes suivants : comment évaluer l'empreinte de modèles perses dans telle ou telle réalisation trouvée dans l'une quelconque des provinces de l'empire ? En quoi le nombre croissant de témoignages iconographiques marqués d'influence venues « du cœur de l'empire » permet-il d'induire une appréciation sur la profondeur des contacts inter-culturels, voire sur la densité de la domination impériale ?<sup>3</sup>

Les remarques introductives qui précèdent s'appliquent particulièrement bien à un dossier documentaire singulier, celui du « roi-laboureur ». Ce dossier est d'abord et avant tout nourri par les sources classiques, en premier lieu par un fameux chapitre de l'*Économique* (IV.4), où, soucieux de proposer un modèle à l'image du grand propriétaire-exploitant qu'il expose, Xénophon établit un rapprochement avec le Grand roi, qui – affirme-t-il – se voue aussi bien aux travaux de la guerre qu'aux travaux de la paix. En effet, il distribue dons, honneurs et récompenses à ceux de ses subordonnés qui « lui présentent un territoire en pleine production, rempli des arbres et des récoltes qui lui sont propres », et qui font en sorte que le pays qui leur est confié soit « peuplé et productif » (IV.8-11). Qui plus est, le Grand roi « passe la plus grande partie de son temps dans les paradis, remplis de tout ce que la terre a coutume de produire

<sup>1</sup> Point de vue contesté par J. Boardman dans plusieurs études récentes (1998 ; 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Voir HEP, en particulier 94-96 ; 488-528 ; 624-8 ; 689-92 ; 718-88 ; 1056-59 ; BHACH I : 98-104, et BHACH II : 191-206 (voir 191-192 à propos de Boardman 1998 et 2000).

<sup>3</sup> L'étude qui suit a été annoncée dans une communication de 1997 publiée en 2000, où je posais la question : « Peut-on, doit-on établir une corrélation entre les emprunts iconographiques, d'une part, et la dépendance politique ? J'y introduisais mes doutes concernant l'interprétation de la monnaie de Tarse (ici commentée), et j'ajoutais : « J'explicitai mes doutes plus longuement ailleurs » (Briant 2000 : 271 et n. 39). Une première version de l'étude a été présentée à un Colloque organisé à l'Institut Danois d'Athènes en 1999. J'ai développé certains arguments dans mon séminaire du Collège de France en novembre 2001.

de beau et de bon.... » (IV.13). Le meilleur exemple en est Cyrus le Jeune, « qui aurait fait un souverain excellent » (IV.18). Non content de favoriser le travail agricole, il mettait lui-même la main aux travaux des champs, au grand étonnement de Lysandre, qu'il reçoit dans son paradis de Sardes (IV.20-25).

Dans une étude consacrée à la composante « horticole » de l'idéologie monarchique achéménide (Briant 1977 = 1982 : 432-73), je n'avais pas manqué, après bien d'autres, de tirer profit de ce passage, qui semble si bien illustrer les rapports privilégiés entre le roi et la végétation, eux-même symbolisés par la multiplication des paradis (« élément important du discours idéologique sur le roi (ou le satrape), protecteur de la terre et des paysans, et garant de fertilité et de la prospérité », *ibid.* 454).<sup>4</sup> Je ne manquais pas non plus de citer l'opinion de J. Darmesteter dans son commentaire du Fargard III de l'*Avesta* (1892 : 439-443). Se référant lui-même aux sources classiques, tout particulièrement à Xénophon (éloge de l'agriculture) et à Polybe X.28 (encouragement donné par le Grand roi aux paysans parthes et hyrcaniens à forer des *qanats* <sup>5</sup>), Darmesteter écrivait : « Le Fargard III est le commentaire de ces textes » (1892 : 32). Aux textes littéraires, Darmesteter, bien informé, joignait un texte épigraphique qui venait d'être publié par ses découvreurs, la fameuse *Lettre de Darius à Gadatas*, où « le Grand roi félicite Gadatès d'avoir bien travaillé la terre du roi et acclimaté dans la basse Asie les fruits d'au-delà de l'Euphrate ». <sup>6</sup> La conviction de Darmesteter se fondait aussi sur un rapprochement avec les pratiques des Guèbres, telles qu'elles furent décrites par Chardin, tout particulièrement l'importance centrale de l'agriculture. <sup>7</sup> Au sein de ce dossier, le passage de Xénophon tient une place particulière, puisqu'il est le seul à évoquer explicitement l'image d'un roi-horticulteur, comme le montre une réplique que lui attribue l'auteur athénien : « C'est moi qui ai tout dessiné et arrangé, il y a même des arbres, ajoute-t-il, que j'ai plantés moi-même » (IV.22). Le thème du roi-laboureur semblait s'imposer

<sup>4</sup> Sur les paradis et leur place dans le discours royal, voir aussi Fauth 1979.

<sup>5</sup> Sur ce passage, on verra maintenant Briant 2001 : 9-40.

<sup>6</sup> Voir également l'étude spécifique de Cannizzaro 1913 : 1-19, qui cite lui aussi côte à côte l'*Avesta*, Xénophon, Polybe et la *Lettre de Darius à Gadatas*.

<sup>7</sup> Voir le très intéressant article « Guèbres » signé de M. Boulanger dans la *Grande Encyclopédie* Diderot & d'Alembert : « Car ils estiment que l'agriculture est non-seulement une profession belle & innocente, mais noble dans la société & méritoire devant Dieu. C'est le prier, disent-ils, que de labourer ; & leur créance met au nombre des actions vertueuses de planter un arbre, de défricher un champ, & d'engendrer des enfants » ; on verra aussi les remarques de Dureau de la Malle 1840, du moins à titre de témoignage historiographique.



d'autant plus aisément qu'il est connu et documenté dans l'histoire mésopotamienne, y compris dans le courant du premier millénaire.<sup>8</sup>

Concernant l'apparente cohérence du dossier documentaire, plusieurs remarques doivent être présentées d'entrée. Outre que le passage de Xénophon exprime, d'abord, une vision grecque de la société,<sup>9</sup> et que la *Lettre de Darius* doit probablement être écartée du dossier,<sup>10</sup> l'on doit souligner que le Fargard III, de chronologie incertaine, ne fait pas référence, *stricto sensu*, à une idéologie du roi-laboureur ; il exalte plutôt le lien intime entre les labours et les sacrifices, sans que jamais une personne royale soit introduite dans le discours : d'où le rapprochement que j'ai proposé naguère avec l'inspiration religieuse des *Travaux et les Jours* d'Hésiode, telle qu'elle avait été analysée par Marcel Détienne (Briant 1982 : 435-439 et n. 325). Tout compte fait, le dossier est constitué exclusivement de documents grecs, qu'ils soient littéraires ou épigraphiques. De ce point de vue, sa composition est bien différente de celle de deux autres dossiers qui concernent l'idéologie monarchique achéménide, le dossier du roi-combattant, et le dossier des successions dynastiques. L'un et l'autre sont nourris par des représentations grecques, mais ils sont constitués, d'abord, de déclarations exprimées par les Grands rois eux-mêmes dans leurs inscriptions. En revanche, à aucun moment, nous ne trouvons dans ces inscriptions la moindre référence aux rapports privilégiés que le Grand roi entretiendrait avec le travail de la terre.<sup>11</sup> Ce qui veut dire que la discussion ne concerne pas le problème bien connu et si souvent traité, celui des échos déformés de conceptions et de *realia* achéménides dans les sources grecques. Elle

<sup>8</sup> Voir en particulier les développements dans Labat 1939 : 277-281, sur les rapports entre le roi et la fertilité du pays : « C'est pourquoi le souverain se donne parfois lui-même l'épithète si caractéristique de 'laboureur'... L'épithète survécut jusqu'à l'époque assyrienne ; dans la correspondance des Sargonides, un certain nombre de lettres sont adressées à un personnage que l'on appelle *ikkaru*, 'laboureur,' qui n'est autre que le roi lui-même. Parmi les rois néo-babyloniens, Nabuchodonosor se nomme de la même façon 'laboureur de Babylone' ».

<sup>9</sup> Voir S. Pomeroy 1994, même si l'auteur, non sans hésitation, admet que le chapitre IV illustre des vertus royales perses (237-243 ; voir ci-dessous).

<sup>10</sup> Sur ce document, l'on verra maintenant Briant 2003, où je tente de montrer qu'il s'agit d'un faux d'époque romaine ; sur le dossier « politique agraire », voir en particulier mes réticences exprimées, note 134.

<sup>11</sup> La déclaration de Darius (DPd) sur l'obligation de défendre son pays de l'armée ennemie, de la mauvaise année (mauvaise récolte) et du désordre (rébellion) ne peut pas être considérée, *stricto sensu*, comme l'illustration du thème du roi-jardinier ; elle illustre plus encore la place centrale de la Perse dans l'empire et la mission royale de défendre le territoire et les paysans (cf. HEP : 195 ; 235).

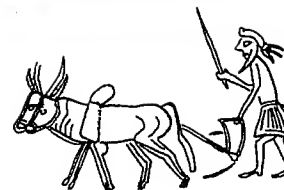
est de savoir si un dossier composé uniquement de sources grecques peut être considéré comme utilisable par l'historien de l'empire achéménide. Et si oui, pourquoi et dans quelle mesure ? Nous allons voir qu'il s'agit aussi d'évaluer l'éventuelle complémentarité entre sources écrites et sources iconographiques.

## 2. L'iconographie du « roi »-laboureur : d'un sceau-cylindre perse à une monnaie tarsiote

En effet, si aucun témoignage écrit perse ne concerne explicitement le sujet, il existe un document iconographique bien connu (fig. 1, photo, et fig. 2, dessin).<sup>12</sup> Il s'agit d'un sceau-cylindre en marbre bleuâtre (33 x 20 mm), aujourd'hui au Louvre (AO 2282), inclus par Delaporte dans la catégorie « Intailles perses », et décrit ainsi par lui : « Un personnage vêtu d'un châle court enroulé en forme de jupon tient de la main droite un aiguillon et, de la main gauche, dirige une charrue que traîne un couple de bœufs à bosse » (1923 : 75 ; pl. 91, fig. 21). Le



Figs. 1-2 : sceau du Louvre (AO 2282).



sceau fut à nouveau publié par M. Rutten en 1936 (n° 139), muni de la légende suivante : « Perse. Marbre bleuâtre... Labourage. Un paysan conduit sa charrue tirée par deux bœufs à bosse ». Dans un style très dépouillé, Salonen commente ainsi : « Labour avec un attelage de deux bœufs » (1968 : 495 ; photo, planche VIII.2). En reproduisant une photo sur la p. 4 de la couverture de *Rois, tributs et paysans* (1982), j'ai repris, p. 3 de la couverture, l'essentiel des commentaires de Delaporte et de Rutten : « Deux bœufs à bosse tirent un araire conduit par un paysan ». Le document figure dans le recueil bien connu de Dominique Collon, où il illustre la catégorie « scènes de labour » (1987 : 146 n. 619) ; de même dans l'étude de P. d'Amore (1992 : 213 n. 239 ;

<sup>12</sup> Figs. 1-2 : Sceau du Louvre (AO 2282) : photographie et dessin reproduits avec l'aimable autorisation du Département des Antiquités Orientales.

263). De son côté, R. Moorey reste sobre : « A man ploughing with a pair of zebu bulls » (1988 : 64 n° 77). Il en est de même d'H. Koch (1992 : 270 : « Paysan en train de labourer »).

Aucun des auteurs cités, on le voit, n'évoque la possibilité de voir dans le paysan la représentation symbolique d'un roi-laboureur, et, mis à part H. Koch,<sup>13</sup> aucun ne tente même une identification quelconque. L'idée s'est imposée récemment, par glissements successifs. Sauf oubli ou erreur de ma part, la première proposition claire en ce sens est venue d'Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg elle-même dans le cours de l'article dont je suis parti ; en faisant référence à mes pages sur le « roi-agriculteur » (1982 : 447), elle mentionnait le sceau du Louvre parmi les illustrations possibles de ce thème (1990 : 266). Un peu plus tard, je rapprochai à mon tour les différents documents : l'importance des paradis, le passage de Xénophon, et « le pouvoir du roi sur les cycles de la végétation », en remarquant que le sceau représenté illustrait précisément ce thème (1992 : 103). J'y suis revenu plus longuement dans HEP, dans un développement sur « le bon jardinier », en estimant que le paysan représenté est très probablement le roi lui-même (HEP : 245-46 ; cf. 940, référence à l'étude de Sancisi-Weerdenburg).

La démarche de Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg se justifie aussi et plus encore par un lien qu'elle a établi entre le sceau du Louvre et une monnaie cilicienne de la collection von Aulock (SNG von Aulock XIII n° 5914 ; ici figs. 3a-b, dessin fig. 4), dont un autre exemplaire est maintenant connu (figs. 3c-d), provenant du même coin ; l'une est mieux conservée que l'autre, car les têtes des bœufs sont entières.<sup>14</sup> Au revers, l'on reconnaît une scène d'allaitement d'un veau sous la mère ; au droit, une scène de labour, surmontée de la légende araméenne TRS (Tarse). Selon Sancisi-Weerdenburg, sceau et monnaie portent la même image d'un roi-laboureur (*ploughing king*), qui reflète l'intérêt achéménide en faveur de l'agriculture, lui-même si bien connu à travers les sources grecques (1990 : 266). Ce rapprochement a été jugé particulièrement convaincant par plusieurs auteurs.<sup>15</sup>

À ce point, il est important de souligner que, pas plus que les premiers éditeurs du sceau du Louvre, les éditeurs du SNG ne faisaient mention d'un roi ;

<sup>13</sup> L'auteur estime, à propos du sceau du Louvre, qu'il devait être celui d'un grand propriétaire, pour lequel travaillaient nombre de paysans, dont celui qui est représenté sur le sceau (1992 : 270).

<sup>14</sup> Les figs. 3a-d sont reproduites avec l'aimable autorisation de Mme Sylvia Hurter. Fig. 4 : dessin © Marie-Françoise Clergeau et Collège de France.

<sup>15</sup> Voir HEP : 246 ; Casabonne 1996 : 133-134 ; 1999 : 57 ; cf. BHach I : 74 ; BHach II : 101-102 ; l'exemple, en revanche, n'est pas évoqué par Boardman 2000 : 175-178.



Figs. 3a-b (ci-dessus) :  
monnaie de Tarse,  
droit et revers  
(Vente Leu 45, 1988, 250).  
fig. 4 : idem, dessin du revers.



Figs. 3c-d (à gauche) :  
monnaie de Tarse,  
droit et revers.  
(Vente Leu 45, 1988, 250).

leur explication était à la fois descriptive et prudente : « Un Perse avec un aiguillon ; charrue avec deux bœufs de labour » (SNG von Aulock XIII: 196 : *Perser m. Stab. Pflug und 2 Rindern pflügend*). Ils ne reprenaient pas le commentaire que, plus de quinze ans auparavant, le seul P. Franke avait donné, comme allant de soi : « Le roi coiffé de la *kyrbasia*, conduisant une charrue attelée de bœufs » (Franke & Hirmer [1964] 1966 : 124 ; cf. 123 : « Roi marchant derrière la charrue »).

Le document numismatique est également cité par une spécialiste de l'*Économie* de Xénophon, Sarah Pomeroy. Sans méconnaître les discussions en cours sur la « crédibilité achéménide » de l'ouvrage de l'Athénien, l'auteur note que plusieurs iranistes (W. Fauth, M. Dandamaev) ont admis la valeur du témoignage, car « inscriptions et iconographie des Achéménides corroborent les témoignages de Xénophon sur la culture perse en général. » Quant à l'intérêt spécifique des rois pour l'agriculture, S. Pomeroy renvoie non seulement à Xénophon et à la *Lettre de Darius à Gadatas*,<sup>16</sup> mais également à la monnaie de

<sup>16</sup> Tout en ajoutant que la valeur documentaire du document n'est pas amoindrie dans l'hypothèse d'un faux, – position qui ne manque pas de déstabiliser le lecteur ! Voir mes remarques dans Briant 2003 : n. 61.



Tarse, dont elle présente une photographie ainsi légendée : « Persian king ploughing » (1994 : 239). Le document est reproduit d'après la publication de Franke et Hirmer, mais aucune explication approfondie n'est proposée au lecteur sur le rapprochement postulé entre le passage de l'*Économique* et la monnaie de Tarse.<sup>17</sup>

Cette courte histoire du dossier documentaire appelle deux remarques. D'une part, il paraît assez évident que Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg fut conduite à proposer l'hypothèse d'un roi-laboureur non seulement par les liens qu'elle établissait avec le sceau-cylindre et avec les textes classiques, mais aussi en raison de la légende proposée par P. Franke. Celle-ci, à son tour, venait justifier l'idée selon laquelle le sceau du Louvre illustrait « lui aussi » le thème du roi-laboureur. Ainsi s'est trouvé constitué un dossier réputé cohérent, composé de textes grecs, d'un sceau-cylindre achéménide et d'une monnaie cilicienne (datée de l'époque achéménide). Par ailleurs, dans l'esprit de Sancisi-Weerdenburg et de



Fig. 5a : monnaie BMC 09, 19 ;  
fig 5b : dessin du revers.

<sup>17</sup> Fort curieusement, l'image de la page 239 n'est pas « appelée » dans le texte (comme si elle avait été ajoutée *in extremis*) ; l'article de Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990 n'est pas cité dans la bibliographie (Pomeroy 1994 : 365), ni aucune autre étude spécialisée, si bien qu'il est malaisé de savoir comment l'idée du rapprochement est venue à l'auteur.

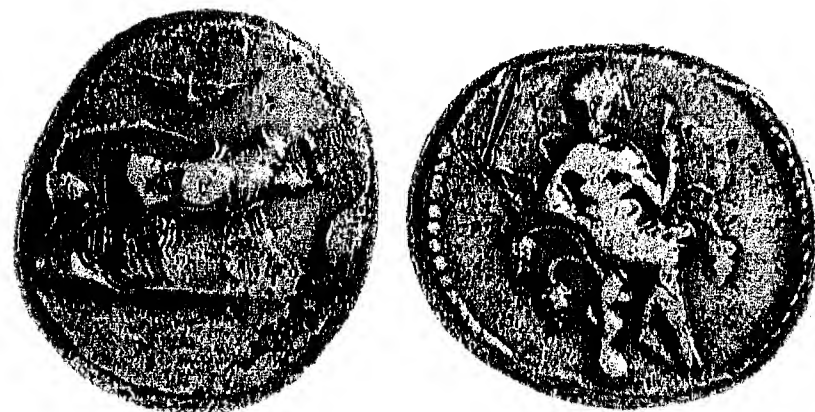


Fig. 6a : monnaie ex-vente Lanz,  
Munich 52/1990, 256 ;  
fig 6b : dessin du revers.

ceux qui l'ont suivie, le rapprochement illustre aussi le thème des influences venues du centre vers la périphérie : c'est ce qui explique en particulier que l'interprétation a été adoptée sans discussion par O. Casabonne dans plusieurs de ses études consacrées aux témoignages de la présence perse en Cilicie.<sup>18</sup>

### 3. La tradition de la scène de labour

Il nous faut maintenant introduire dans le dossier d'autres documents iconographiques, car la représentation de la scène de labour n'est pas limitée au sceau-cylindre du Louvre ni à l'exemplaire déjà présenté de monnaie tarsiotte.

Tout d'abord, il existe d'autres monnaies ciliciennes, qui portent une scène identique ou comparable. Une monnaie, aujourd'hui au British Museum (BMC 08, 19), figure, au droit, un Dionysos parmi les pampres de vigne, tandis qu'on retrouve le laboureur et le couple de bœufs au revers (figs. 5a-b) ; les mêmes

<sup>18</sup> Voir Casabonne 1996 ; 1999 ; 2000. Pour différentes raisons sur lesquelles je reviens ci-dessous (n. 30), l'auteur, qui a pu utiliser une première version du texte ici publié, est maintenant plus circonspect : cf. Casabonne 2003a-b.

scènes se retrouvent sur une autre monnaie, en meilleur état, venant de l'ex-vente Lanz (Munich 52/1990, 256) : figs. 6a-b.<sup>19</sup>

Par ailleurs, trois autres sceaux datés de l'époque achéménide portent une telle scène :<sup>20</sup>

1. aujourd'hui au musée de Bagdad (IM 12648), un sceau représente un attelage de bœufs à bosse tirant un araire, tenu par un paysan qui, muni d'un aiguillon de la main gauche, porte un vêtement de type « mède » : pantalon et tunique, et tiare à mentonnière (Frankfort 1939 : pl. XXXVII.g,<sup>21</sup> photo ici fig. 7 ; dessin fig. 8),<sup>22</sup>
2. conservé au Musée d'Art et d'histoire de Genève (inv. 1948/18990 ; Vollenweider 1967, pl. 40.1-2 ; ici fig. 9-11<sup>23</sup>), un autre sceau cylindre figure « un pâtre coiffé d'un bonnet, vêtu d'une tunique courte couvrant le pantalon et serrée à la taille par une ceinture », qui « conduit une charrue tirée par un bœuf bossu » (I : 79) ; le laboureur tient un bâton à la forme tourmentée ;
3. un sceau pyramidal s'est ajouté récemment au corpus ; il porte lui aussi une scène agricole : un paysan conduit une charrue tirée par des bœufs (Boardman 1998 : 3, 10, n° 17.3 : sans photo ni dessin, et sans provenance ni localisation).

À ces quatre sceaux (Louvre, Bagdad, Genève, et un sans provenance), il convient d'ajouter une empreinte sur argile, qui n'est connue que par une publication ancienne du Père Scheil relative à une série d'empreintes babylono-perses (Scheil 1901).<sup>24</sup> La publication n'est accompagnée d'aucune photographie ; elle comporte en revanche des dessins. Outre un motif égyptianisant (n° 1), on y trouve la scène fameuse du lion à la proie (n° 2), parfois combinée avec la représentation du héros royal (n° 4-6), également des scènes de chasse (n° 3) et de guerre (n° 7). Plus intéressant pour notre propos, on y retrouve une scène agricole (n° 8 ; ici fig. 12) : surmonté d'un « Ahura-Mazda », un paysan marchant vers la droite sème du grain à la volée ; derrière

<sup>19</sup> Voir photo et légende également chez Levante 1994 : fig. D (sous « Mallos, n° 1 » ; 1994 : 10), mais l'attribution à Mallos est contestée par Casabonne 2000 et 2003b. Fig. 5 est reproduite avec l'aimable autorisation du British Museum. Figs. 5b, 6b : dessins © Marie-Françoise Clergeau et Collège de France.

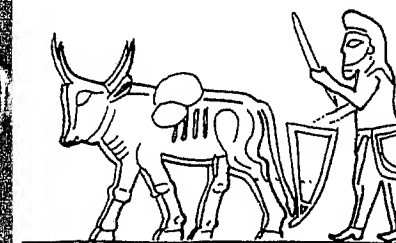
<sup>20</sup> Voir D'Amore 1992 : 213-4, où la numérotation nn. 237-9 (213) est erronée ; en réalité (263), les trois sceaux sont numérotés 238 (Bagdad), 239 (Louvre) et 240 (Genève).

<sup>21</sup> La photo figure dans les « Archives Frankfort » conservées au Warburg Institute à Londres ; j'ai pu m'en procurer un scan grâce à l'amabilité de Paul Taylor, que je remercie sincèrement.

<sup>22</sup> Fig. 7 : photo reproduite avec l'aimable autorisation du Warburg Institute (London) ; fig. 8 : dessin © Marie-Françoise Clergeau et Collège de France.

<sup>23</sup> Figs. 9-10 : photos reproduites avec l'aimable autorisation du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève ; fig. 11 : dessin © Marie-Françoise Clergeau et Collège de France.

<sup>24</sup> Je remercie Matt Stolper pour avoir attiré mon attention sur cette publication.



Figs. 7-8 :  
sceau du Musée de Bagdad (IM 12648).



Figs. 9-11 : sceau du Musée d'Art et d'Histoire de Genève  
(inv. 1948/18990).



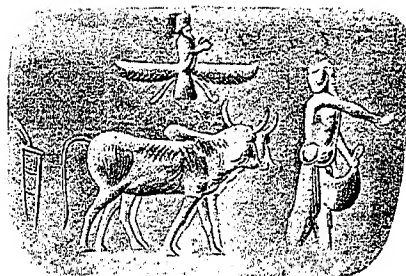


Fig. 12 : Dessin d'une empreinte babylonienne d'époque achéménide (Scheil 1901 : n° 8).

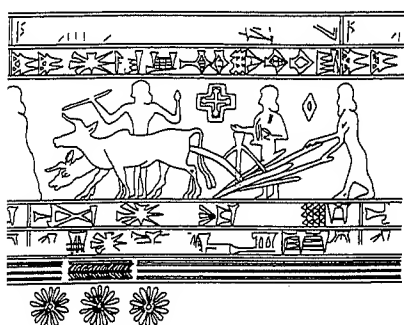


Fig. 13 : Sceau cassite sur la tablette CBS 3657.

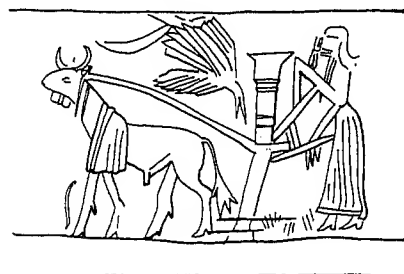


Fig. 14 : Dessin d'un sceau supposé venir d'Iran (Moorey & Gurney 1978 : pl. V, n° 23).

lui, deux bœufs à bosse, qui ont manifestement été utilisés pour labourer, car l'araire, dont ils sont maintenant détachés, est clairement visible sur la gauche de la scène. Si la datation achéménide de cet ensemble ne fait pas de doute, le Père Scheil n'a malheureusement donné aucune précision sur la composition du lot ainsi étudié ni sur sa localisation. Certaines des bulles d'argile en question sont aujourd'hui conservées au Musée du Louvre (Département des Antiquités Orientales), et elles sont analysées dans une étude accompagnée de nombreuses photographies originales (Henkelman, Jones & Stolper 2003). Malheureusement, l'empreinte avec la scène de labour/semences ne figure pas dans l'ensemble du Louvre, ni dans un autre ensemble de même date conservé au NINO à Leiden, lui aussi publié dans l'étude susdite.<sup>25</sup> La lacune est d'autant plus regrettable que la scène est tout à fait originale (mais cf. ci-dessous p. 47).

#### 4. Iconographie et politique : bilan et incertitudes

Chez Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, la référence jointe au sceau du Louvre et à la monnaie tarsiate était part d'une réflexion plus ample sur la diffusion et l'adaptation de motifs

<sup>25</sup> Tous les documents seront intégrés à la base de données iconographiques du « Musée achéménide virtuel et interactif » actuellement en cours d'élaboration et de construction.

idéologiques et iconographiques achéménides dans les différentes régions de l'empire (1990 : 264-266, *Legitimation and ideology*) – un thème de recherches qui, en raison des nombreuses publications documentaires, a suscité, dans les années récentes, un grand nombre de commentaires et d'interprétations (voir mise au point et bibliographie dans BHach II : 191-206).

L'on sait combien il est délicat d'induire une influence politique à partir de l'observation d'adaptations dans les provinces de motifs attestés au centre de l'empire. Ce qui fait difficulté, du côté des sceaux, c'est notre ignorance sur leur(s) lieu(x) d'élaboration et de fabrication. À ma connaissance, l'origine précise du sceau du Louvre n'a jamais été précisée. Il est simplement admis que le style le rattache sans conteste à l'époque achéménide. D. Collon le range dans la période VIIa, ainsi définie par elle : « Mèdes, Perses et Grecs » (1987 : 90-93, 146). R. Moorey (1988 : 76b) reste dans une prudente expectative : « V<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.C. ? Le style est oriental ». Les autres sceaux (Genève, Bagdad) ne sont pas mieux connus : concernant le second, Frankfort le range parmi les « Persian seals » (1939 : 220sq.), mais il n'offre aucun commentaire autre qu'une brévisime mention de « scène agricole » (1939 : 222) ; quant au sceau de Genève, l'éditrice le date du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle, et, tout en marquant certaines différences, elle le rapproche du sceau du Louvre, considérant la coiffure et les pantalons comme étant « des particularités du costume perse » (Vollenweider 1967 : 79).<sup>26</sup> Quant à la publication la plus récente, rien n'est indiqué sur ses origines ni sur sa localisation actuelle, même si l'auteur semble suggérer qu'il pourrait venir d'un atelier d'Asie mineure (Boardman 1998 : 10). Les variations de l'un à l'autre sceaux semblent en tout cas montrer qu'ils proviennent d'ateliers différents, qui ont pu travailler, à des dates diverses, sur un carton qui circulait largement.

Il convient de rappeler, à ce point, que le motif du labour n'est pas spécifiquement perse ou achéménide. La scène est bien représentée sur des sceaux de dates beaucoup plus hautes, et sur une très longue période :<sup>27</sup> d'une manière générale, le sceau du Louvre est replacé dans une longue série (Salonen 1968 : 494-6 ; Collon 1987 : 145-8 ; Haudricourt, Bruhnes & Delamarre 2000 : pl. I, n° 1-2). Il y a évidemment des différences sensibles au cours des âges : l'araire d'époque perse est dépourvu de l'espèce d'entonnoir qui, placé sur la branche supérieure en des temps antérieurs, était utilisé pour répartir les grains à

<sup>26</sup> Voir aussi D'Amore 1992 : 214 (où il faut lire « 238 », et non « 237 »), dont les hypothèses chronologiques et stylistiques ne m'ont pas entièrement convaincu.

<sup>27</sup> Voir Boehmer 1965, Salonen 1968, et la bibliographie citée dans Gruber, Marzahn, Senoner & Wernicke 2000.

semer au fur et à mesure de la progression du labour (figs. 13-14).<sup>28</sup> Il en est tout autrement sur l'empreinte achéménide publiée par Scheil (fig. 10) : après avoir labouré, le paysan a détaché les bœufs de l'araire, et il disperse lui-même à la volée, de la main droite, la semence contenue dans un sac souple qu'il porte à la ceinture. De la même façon, nombre de scènes de labour représentées sur des sceaux sont fréquemment interprétées comme des scènes « rituelles ».<sup>29</sup> Tel ne semble être le cas d'aucune des représentations d'époque achéménide ici rassemblées ; rien ne montre clairement qu'il puisse s'agir explicitement d'une scène « rituelle », où l'officiant serait le roi. Nous sommes plutôt dans le registre quotidien des scènes de la vie agricole. Il semble bien en être de même de la scène représentée sur les monnaies ciliciennes, ou, plus exactement, des deux scènes figurées, car la scène de l'allaitement du veau est très fréquent également dans les traditions grecques et proche-orientales, y compris à l'époque achéménide (cf. d'Amore 1992 : 221-222).

La présence d'un motif analogue (scène de labour) sur de petits objets (sceaux, tablettes d'argile et monnaies) provenant de diverses régions de l'empire (Babylonie, Cilicie) implique-t-elle que la scène a été copiée sur un motif venu du « centre » ? L'hypothèse est évidemment tentante, d'autant que la présence de motifs perses sur les monnayages occidentaux n'est pas rare, y compris en Cilicie, et qu'elle est également fort dense sur les tablettes babyloniennes d'époque achéménide. Néanmoins, l'ignorance dans laquelle nous sommes aujourd'hui sur l'origine précise des sceaux doit conduire à traiter l'hypothèse interprétative avec prudence. En tout état de cause, il s'agirait plus d'une adaptation (costume iranien du laboureur) que d'un emprunt pur et simple, qu'il s'agisse des monnaies tarsiotes<sup>30</sup> ou de l'empreinte babylonienne. Enfin, si les remarques qui précèdent sont fondées, l'on doit émettre des doutes critiques

<sup>28</sup> Voir les commentaires de Moorey & Gurney 1978 : 46-47, et de Haudricourt, Bruhnes & Delamarre 2000 : 85 : « Dans ce cas, l'araire pourrait être considéré comme ayant été d'abord un instrument à semer ». Fig. 13 : Sceau cassite sur la tablette CBS 3657 (Salonen 1968 : 495 et Taf. VI) ; nouveau dessin Gruber, Marzahn, Senoner & Wernicke 2000 : 100, Abb. 4. Fig. 14 : dessin d'un sceau (supposé venir d'Iran), d'après Moorey & Gurney 1978 : pl. v, n° 23.

<sup>29</sup> Voir par exemple les réflexions d'E. Porada 1948 : 77-78 ; sur cet aspect rituel-religieux, on verra également les perspectives anthropologiques chez Haudricourt, Bruhnes & Delamarre 2000 : 557-576.

<sup>30</sup> Voir les remarques maintenant prudentes (ci-dessus note 18) de Casabonne 2003a à propos de la représentation des zébus. Remarquons également au passage qu'à la fin de l'époque achéménide et à l'époque hellénistique, le motif de la charrue (avec soc et sep, mais sans scène de labour) est fréquemment représenté sur des monnaies ciliciennes, en particulier à Tarse (cf. Price 1991 : 369-370 ; Le Rider 1994 : 13-14).

sur la réalité de la diffusion d'un motif « royal » : ni dans le cas des sceaux, ni dans le cas des monnaies, l'on ne peut faire état avec certitude d'un « roi »-laboureur.

À son tour, une telle observation nous oblige à définir avec plus de précision encore ce que l'on entend par « influence du centre ». Il ne s'agit pas nécessairement d'une politique consciente initiée par le pouvoir impérial. Il peut s'agir plus simplement d'une circulation de motifs très anciens réinterprétés à l'époque perse, et de leur adaptation aux répertoires locaux, sans que l'on doive réduire un processus complexe à une décision prise d'un coup au centre de l'empire : nous ne sommes pas là dans le registre de la « propagande », mais dans celui des rapports interculturels.<sup>31</sup>

#### Addendum

Depuis la mise au point du manuscrit, j'ai eu l'occasion d'en présenter les conclusions lors d'une conférence que j'ai présentée à la Maison de l'Orient de Lyon, le 12 avril 2003. Concernant l'empreinte publiée par le Père Scheil en 1901, sans photo ni provenance (ici fig. 12), plusieurs participants (R. Bouchardat, M.-F. Boussac, P.-L. Gatier, G. Rougemont) m'ont fait valoir que le dessin devait être erroné. Je me range aisément à leur judicieux avis. Plutôt qu'une scène jointe de labour et de semailles (qui constitue une sorte d'hapax iconographique), il faut voir une simple scène de labour représentée sur un sceau-cylindre dont l'empreinte n'aurait pas été faite de manière complète : en réalité, le paysan est placé derrière l'araire, et celui-ci est bien tiré par le couple de bœufs à bosse ; l'empreinte porte donc en fait deux représentations fragmentaires d'une scène unique, soit, de droite à gauche : 1) l'araire ; 2) le couple de bœufs ; 3) le paysan. Une empreinte effectuée correctement porterait : 1) le paysan, dont les mains sont posées sur 2) l'araire, relié lui-même 3) au couple de bœufs. Contrairement à ce qui est indiqué par V. Scheil, le laboureur (1) ne porte donc pas de sac à semences attaché à sa ceinture !

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<sup>31</sup> Sur ce point, voir les remarques de prudence méthodologiques largement convergentes de Briant 1982 : 456-457, et de Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990 : 265-267.



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## JOSEPH LINDON SMITH AT PERSEPOLIS, 1935

Ann C. Gunter – Washington D.C.

"I am now writing to let you know that one of the leading painters of America, who has had long experience in painting ancient monuments, will be visiting Persepolis this winter for the purpose of making several paintings which we can use as exhibits in the Oriental Institute building, and also employ as color-plates in the publication. This artist's name is Joseph Lindon Smith. I do not know exactly the date when he will be arriving at Persepolis. Please see to it that he is given a comfortable room and that he joins the Institute staff at the expedition table. I am handing Mr. Smith a letter of introduction to present to you on his arrival. I am sure I need not further indicate that Mr. Smith's errand is one of great importance to the Institute and that obviously every facility must be given him."<sup>1</sup>

With these words, James Henry Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago, issued instructions to the architect Friedrich Krefter, who had recently been given responsibility for running the institute's expedition at Persepolis following Ernst Herzfeld's departure. The subject of Breasted's instructions, the American artist Joseph Lindon Smith (1863-1950), remains best known in archaeological circles for his long and prolific career copying ancient Egyptian paintings and reliefs. In the spring of 1935, however, Smith and his wife, Corinna Haven Putnam Smith (1876-1965), spent six weeks at Persepolis on the assignment described in Breasted's letter.

By comparison with his prodigious output from Egypt, executed over the course of many decades, Smith's Persian oeuvre was miniscule and comprised only six paintings (figs. 1-5).<sup>2</sup> He published a brief account of his stay at Perse-

<sup>1</sup> James Henry Breasted to Friedrich Krefter, 13 November 1934, Oriental Institute Archives, University of Chicago (hereafter cited as OI Archives). My thanks to John A. Larson, Museum Archivist, Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, for his kind and generous assistance with my research on Smith's work at Persepolis.

<sup>2</sup> For Smith and his Egyptian career, see Dawson & Uphill 1995: 396. *The Inventory of American Paintings Executed before 1914*, a research database compiled and maintained



polis in the autobiography that appeared following his death.<sup>3</sup> In a chapter titled "The Majesty of Persia," Smith reported on his journey to Persepolis, the expedition staff and its activities, his own painting project, and the site itself. Herzfeld himself was mentioned in a single paragraph, in which Smith cited Friedrich Krefter as his source of information.<sup>4</sup>

A more detailed description of the Smiths' Persepolis sojourn, however, is preserved among the Joseph Lindon Smith Papers housed in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.<sup>5</sup> The Smiths' visit to the site coincided with a critical moment in the expedition's history: the period that followed Herzfeld's departure in November 1934 and preceded the arrival of the new field director, Erich F. Schmidt.<sup>6</sup> Smith's unpublished account, written by someone who was at once an 'outsider' to the Persepolis expedition and an 'insider' knowledgeable about archaeological projects and politics through his extensive experience in Egypt, describes the troubled atmosphere that prevailed at Persepolis in the aftermath of Herzfeld's departure. It documents the respect and sympathy the expedition staff – in particular, Donald E. McCown – felt for Herzfeld, and the uneasy relationship that existed between the Oriental Institute (and its Persian Expedition) and the Persian government. I offer this brief note on an American in Persepolis in memory of a treasured colleague and friend, who in numerous fruitful gatherings and publications brought so many of us together to discuss and view Persepolis through a variety of travelers' eyes.

Born in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, Joseph Lindon Smith studied art at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts from 1880 to 1882 and at the Académie Julian in Paris under Gustave Boulanger and Jules Lefebvre from 1883 to 1885. His studio in Boston earned the attention of Denman Ross, a well-known Boston collector and art educator at Harvard University. In the early 1890s, Smith and Ross

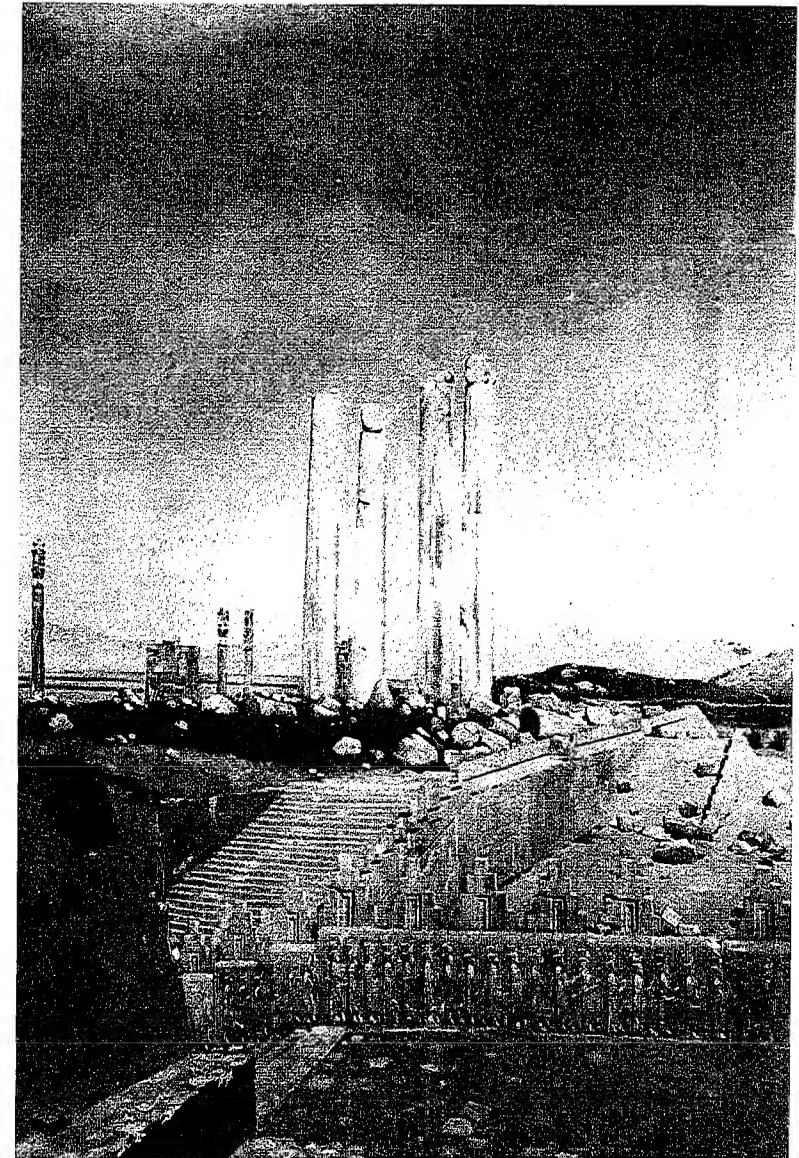
by the Smithsonian American Art Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., lists 137 paintings by Joseph Lindon Smith (<http://sirismm.si.edu/siris/aboutari.htm>). This list does not include all of his Egyptian paintings completed prior to that date, however; additional holdings from Smith's early years with Reisner's expedition are housed in the Art of the Ancient World Department, Museum of Fine Arts Boston.

<sup>3</sup> J.L. Smith 1956: 246-62.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 254-55.

<sup>5</sup> Joseph Lindon Smith Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (hereafter JLS Papers, AAA).

<sup>6</sup> Balcer 1991: 147-72.



*Fig. 1: Iran, Persepolis. Joseph Lindon Smith, painting depicting the columns of the Apadana, from the east; 1935. Oriental Institute, P. 27832 (photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).*

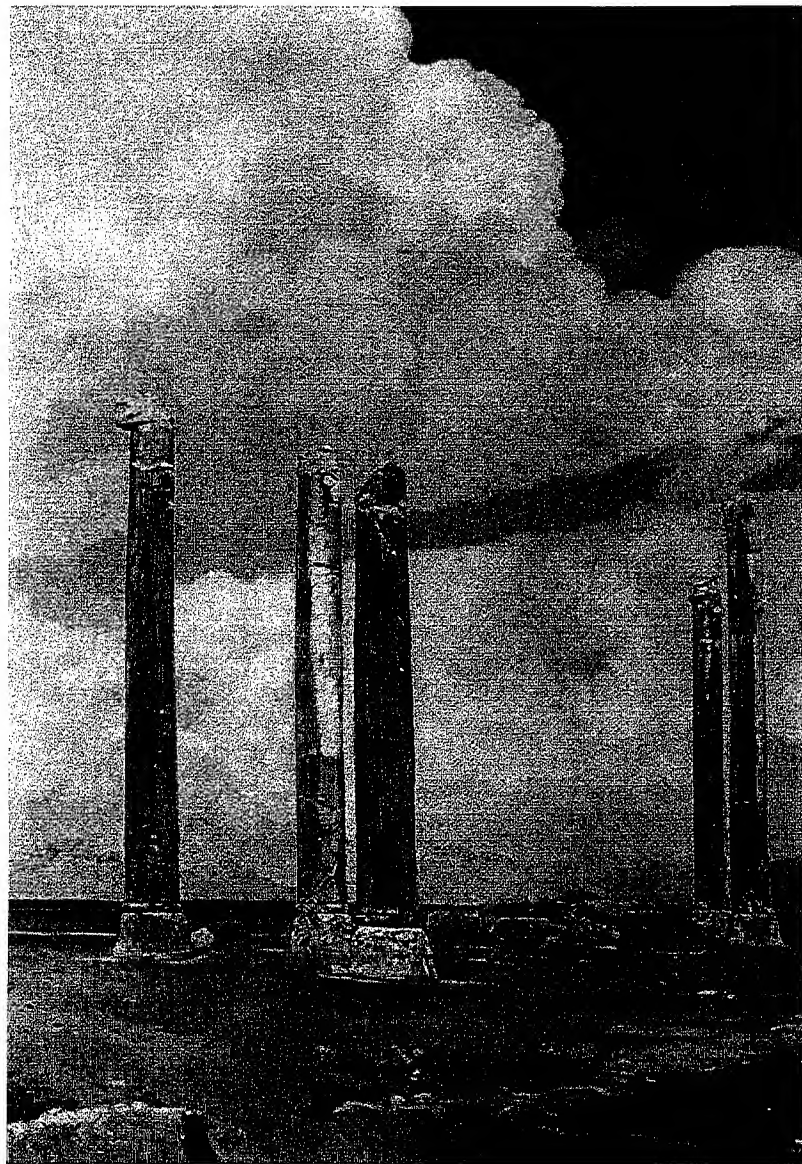


Fig. 2: Iran, Persepolis. Joseph Lindon Smith, painting depicting the columns of the Apadana; 1935. Oil on canvas. *Oriental Institute*, P. 29042 (photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

traveled extensively and studied ancient civilizations of Mexico, China, and Southeast Asia. During a trip to Italy in 1892, Smith met the famous Boston collector Isabella Stewart Gardner, and began to copy paintings for her and occasionally to serve as her agent in purchasing works of art.<sup>7</sup> Following his first trip to Egypt in 1898, Smith devoted himself chiefly to a career as staff artist for archaeological expeditions, copying in oil on canvas tomb paintings and reliefs for use as illustrations in archaeological publications and for educational uses in museums and other institutions. From 1910 to 1939 he was a member of the Joint Expedition of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Harvard University, which was headed by George Reisner, and under these auspices Smith recorded monuments at a number of sites in Egypt, including Saqqara, Abydos, and Thebes. When in the United States, Corinna and Joe Smith spent much of their time in Dublin, New Hampshire, where they were active in the nearby Cornish Artists' Colony. Both Smith and his wife belonged to distinguished American families. Smith himself was a second cousin of the poet John Greenleaf Whittier. Corinna was the daughter of publisher George Palmer Putnam, through whom the couple also enjoyed many social and political connections. From her husband's manuscripts and diaries, she edited his posthumously published autobiography, and, later, she published her own autobiography.<sup>8</sup> Corinna was a serious student of Arabic literature and mentioned in her autobiography that she owned a "fairly comprehensive" library devoted to Islam.<sup>9</sup> The Smiths clearly enjoyed their wide-ranging travels, which, by the time of their trip to Iran, had already taken them to China, Japan, Angkor Wat, South America, and elsewhere.

- <sup>7</sup> Letters exchanged between Gardner and the art critic Bernard Berenson refer on several occasions to Smith ("Zozo"): Hadley (ed.) 1987: esp. 66, 68 n. 3, 101, 318, 384, and 399. Smith was also hired to copy Italian paintings for Berenson and Gardner: see *ibid.* 116, 124, 128, 130, 132, and 133. *The Inventory of American Paintings Executed before 1914* lists four copies by Smith of works by Italian painters, now in the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University: Bellini, *SS. Jerome, Christopher and Augustine*, oil, 1889; Carpaccio, *Crucifixion*, oil, undated; Tintoretto, *Miracle of the Finding of the Body of St. Mark*, watercolor, undated; Tintoretto, *Crucifixion*, oil, undated.
- <sup>8</sup> C.H. Smith 1962: 394, where Persepolis was granted a single, brief paragraph. The Corinna Putnam Smith Papers are housed in the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University.
- <sup>9</sup> C.H. Smith 1962: 392, a collection she later donated to the International School of the Middle East Institute in Washington, D.C. She was also the co-author of a book on post-World War I recovery in France, published by her father's firm (C.H. Smith & Hill 1920).

Smith's papers in Washington preserve references to his stay at Persepolis in three separate documents. Two are typescripts, which bear similar titles and overlap to some degree, but are not identical in content or length.<sup>10</sup> Neither is dated, but the amount of detail they contain suggests that they were written during, or not long after, the Smiths' residence at the site. In addition to these fairly lengthy, polished accounts, Smith's diary furnishes further details concerning the journey from Egypt and arrival in Iran, but it abruptly breaks off before they arrived at the site. Smith's typescripts were probably based on additional notes, kept in a diary or some other form, which are not preserved among the extensive records of the Smith papers in Washington. Alternatively, they were actually written, or at least drafted, while the couple was still at Persepolis. When and by whom the original text was edited to the version published in *Tombs, Temples and Ancient Art* (J.L. Smith 1956) – a version that omitted all references to troubled diplomatic and expedition circumstances and personalities – cannot be determined, but very likely this revision occurred when Corinna edited her husband's manuscript. By 1950, the year of Smith's death, the particular circumstances of the expedition were no longer current and would in any case have stirred little interest among the broad readership envisaged for the book.

Although Smith's published account stated that the Oriental Institute had taken the initiative in sending Smith to Persepolis, in fact it seems that Smith himself first broached the subject at the suggestion of Prentice Duell, field director of the Oriental Institute's Saqqara expedition. In Egypt and elsewhere, Smith typically used oil on canvas to copy archaeological monuments. For this project, he needed to transport to Persepolis ample quantities of supplies, amounting to thirty-eight yards of canvas rolled in a sizeable tin cylinder measuring 7 feet 4 inches in length and 24 inches in circumference. This object and its contents generated a lively diplomatic correspondence concerning anticipated problems with customs officials, which Smith reviewed at great length in his typescript account. After a series of cables had successfully been exchanged between Cairo, Washington, and Tehran, the Smiths finally departed from Egypt on 28 February 1935 and traveled via Iraq to the Persian border town of Khanaqin. From there they reached Tehran on 6 March, then arrived in Persepolis on 9 March 1935.

<sup>10</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, Miscellaneous Typescripts hh, JLS Papers, AAA, about 30 pages in length, recounts in detail the preparations for the trip and travel to Iran; *Persepolis*, Miscellaneous Typescripts ii, JLS Papers, AAA, about 40 pages in length, incorporates many editorial changes and more detail about the site and expedition personalities.

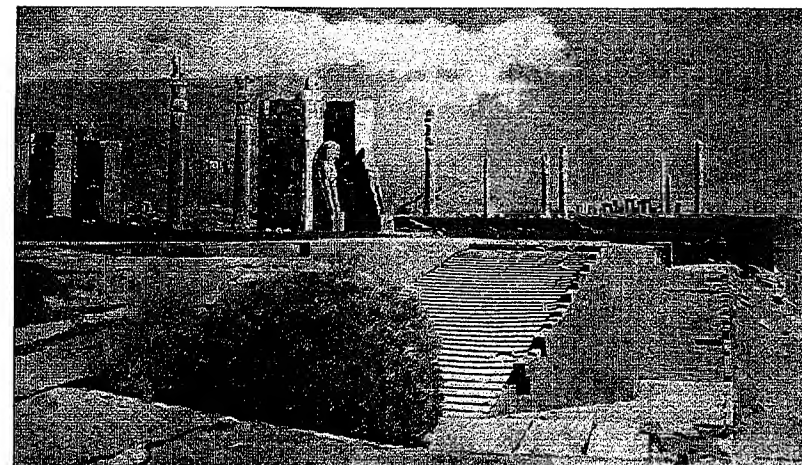


Fig. 3: Iran, Persepolis. Joseph Lindon Smith, painting depicting the entrance to the Persepolis platform; 1935. Oil on canvas. Oriental Institute, P. 29043 (photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

Smith's diary for 7 March 1935 recorded a visit with "the American Minister," who was William Harrison Hornibrook (1884-1946). Appointed envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to Iran on 12 December 1933, Hornibrook presented his credentials on 19 March 1934.<sup>11</sup> Although he had earlier served in the diplomatic service as minister plenipotentiary to Siam (1915-17), Hornibrook's appointment to the Iranian post seems to have been a reward for a political favor. "He was not a career man but ran an important newspaper in Salt Lake City and helped to defeat Reed Smoot for reelection to the U.S. Senate, hence this diplomatic reward," Smith elaborated.<sup>12</sup> Smoot, a Republican senator from Utah, had co-authored the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930, which sought to aid U.S. agriculture by raising rates on many imported products. By 1932, however, both imports and exports had declined by nearly seventy percent, and many held the tariff responsible for contributing to the Great Depression.<sup>13</sup> After nearly thirty years in the U.S. Senate, Smoot was

<sup>11</sup> *Who Was Who in America*, vol. 2, Chicago 1950: 262. Hornibrook also served as minister plenipotentiary in Afghanistan from 1935 to 1936, and in Costa Rica from 1937 to 1941.

<sup>12</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 17, JLS Papers, AAA.

<sup>13</sup> Findling 1989: 482.



Figs. 4a-b: Iran, Persepolis. Joseph Lindon Smith, two paintings depicting details of the Apadana reliefs: Persian and Median guards (above); Saka tribute-bearers (below); 1935. Oil on canvas. Oriental Institute, P. 27828 and P. 27829 (photographs courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

defeated in his reelection campaign in the autumn of 1932. Franklin Delano Roosevelt won the presidency in the same election, and with it the possibility of granting presidential rewards to particularly effective members of the Democratic Party. Hornibrook owned several important newspapers in Utah, including the *Provo Evening Herald* and the *Salt Lake Times*, and was active in state Democratic Party organizations. Smith's typescript account barely conceals its disdain for this publisher-turned-diplomat, whom Smith just managed not to describe as crude. "He was friendly but talked too much and was rather indiscrete in discussing archaeological difficulties between Breasted and the [Persian] Government," Smith observed.

"He described the situation as one charged with dynamite, and intimated that Godard, the French head of antiquities, was not helpful and added, 'Frankly, I don't get on with Frenchmen.' His own advice to all concerned apparently was freely offered. He commented on the excitement the news of the tin cylinder had raised in Government circles. 'Lucky we had the dope from the State Department well in advance,' he said. 'Otherwise it would have been a 'hot baby'.'" <sup>14</sup>

Fortunately for the Smiths, Tehran also offered more refined company. "Both Corinna and I found more in common with the British Minister, Sir Hugh M. Knatchbull-Hugesson [*sic*], to whom we had an introduction from Sir Denison Ross," Smith wrote. <sup>15</sup> Sir Hughe M. Knatchbull-Hugessen served as British minister in Tehran from 1934 to 1936, and subsequently as ambassador to China and Turkey. <sup>16</sup> Ross, a distinguished scholar of Arabic and Persian history and literature, was the first director of the School of Oriental Studies in London (later renamed the School of Oriental and African Studies). <sup>17</sup>

Hornibrook was apparently not the only indiscrete member of the U.S. diplomatic service stationed in Tehran, however. "Our final visit was an early dinner with the [James] Rives Childs whom we had known in Cairo," Smith continued. "Childs, I thought, talked too much in referring to the 'storm center' in archeology. I did not try to draw him out, as I have no desire to become involved." <sup>18</sup> Following their dinner at Childs's home, the Smiths returned to their hotel to find a reporter and a photographer from a Persian newspaper, who had been waiting for an interview to learn Smith's purpose in visiting Iran. Smith refused to see him. "I was determined to be one foreigner who did *not* talk," he commented. <sup>19</sup>

<sup>14</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 17-8, JLS Papers, AAA.

<sup>15</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 18, JLS Papers, AAA.

<sup>16</sup> *The Concise Dictionary of National Biography: From Earliest Times to 1985*, vol. II, Oxford 1992: 1687; see also Knatchbull-Hugessen 1949: 17-85, on his service in Tehran.

<sup>17</sup> Ross published a memoir titled *Both Ends of the Candle: The Autobiography of Sir E. Denison Ross* (Ross 1943).

<sup>18</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 19-20, JLS Papers, AAA. James Rives Childs (1893-1987) subsequently served as U.S. ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Ethiopia. Under the pseudonym Henry Filmer, he published an account of his residence in Iran titled *The Pageant of Persia: A Record of Travel by Motor in Persia with an Account of its Ancient and Modern Ways* (Filmer 1936).

<sup>19</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 20, JLS Papers, AAA (his emphasis).





Fig. 5: Iran, Persepolis. Joseph Lindon Smith, painting lion and bull relief, north side, eastern stairway of the Apadana; 1935. Oil on canvas. *Oriental Institute, P. 29044* (photograph courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

In a letter to J.H. Breasted, Smith had written that "intimate friends of ours in New York had written their close friend M. Goddard of our proposed visit," and that they had called on Godard to thank him for notifying the ministry about their arrival at the border.<sup>20</sup> In his diary, however, Smith noted that it was Hornibrook who

"thought it very advisable for us to call on M. Goddard [*sic*], who in his official position as head of the Antiquity Department is hard and difficult to deal with. ... [later] we went to call on the Goddards. She is very pleasant – paints extremely well (fine portraits of an old lady) has fine things about – a very cordial person. M. Goddard seemed a very cautious type a sort of distrustful person – and said a rather disagreeable thing in regard to a proposed visit he expected to make at Persepolis 'to see that there are no errors.' We didn't much like him."<sup>21</sup>

Smith elaborated on the visit in his typescript:

"The Godards' house was next to the Shah's palace on a broad avenue with fine trees. Madame was delightful but he could best be described as a cautious, distrustful person. He blurted out to me that he found it 'impossible to get on with

<sup>20</sup> Smith to Breasted, [day not specified] March 1935, Oriental Institute Archives.

<sup>21</sup> Diary, 5 March 1935, JLS Papers, AAA.

the Oriental Institute.' Whereupon Corinna tried to pass off the attack by making it general and saying 'All institutions are difficult to deal with,' but Godard would not let it go at that. 'I have no trouble with anyone else,' he insisted. His attitude did not make us wish to prolong the visit."<sup>22</sup>

"We begin to surmise some of the difficulties of the Persepolis expedition," Smith wrote in his diary.

"Goddard who no doubt hated to see American 'enterprise given the splendid site' (Persepolis) and probably not too pleased to have D. Hertsfeld [*sic*] (German) put at its head – and Hertsfeld's selling antiquities to the Oriental Institute (tho' quite permitted by himself and the Persian government). [Arthur Upham] Pope's status too is clearer to us – (at least we surmise) he is a dealer but not a licensed one – these are all such complications as we are familiar with in Egypt."<sup>23</sup>

The Smiths reported that the expedition staff at Persepolis received them hospitably, and Smith began work immediately. "Superb possibilities painting," Smith cabled to J.H. Breasted upon his arrival.<sup>24</sup> He soon set into a routine of "long hours at work with Corinna beside me reading books from Herzfeld's splendid library."<sup>25</sup>

Smith wrote that he saw expedition staff and guests only at mealtimes. When the Smiths arrived at the site, they learned of the ongoing project to consolidate the clay tablets unearthed from the site by dipping them in paraffin wax. High-level assistance in obtaining needed materials prompted another reference to the hapless Hornibrook. On the Smiths' first evening in Persepolis, he wrote, "the expedition is sunk in gloom! The parafine [*sic*] wax sent by our Minister proved to be parafine oil and of course quite useless for dipping tablets. I fear the Honorable William H. Hornibrook is not quite the archaeologist he fancies himself."<sup>26</sup> Smith also reported on several visitors to the site, whom he and his wife encountered at mealtimes. "There were many visitors for overnight or more," he wrote.

"The Godards stayed for several days and the atmosphere was rather tense, also with the advent of the Childs, and later the Hornibrooks, I felt an undercurrent of

<sup>22</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 19, JLS Papers, AAA.

<sup>23</sup> Diary, 5 March 1935. For Pope, see Gluck & Siver 1996.

<sup>24</sup> Smith to Breasted, cable received 10 March 1935, OI Archives.

<sup>25</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 22, JLS Papers, AAA.

<sup>26</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 26, JLS Papers, AAA.

'problems' connected with the absent Herzfeld and prospective changes in the Expedition, and complications with the Persian Government, that I deliberately kept away from, as none of my concern as a guest of Breasted."<sup>27</sup>

Indeed, Herzfeld seems to have been a major topic of conversation among the expedition members. "It's certainly strange that the staff has heard nothing from Herzfeld since his arrival in Chicago or what is to be done with his possessions," Smith's account continued.

"Practically all the furniture, rugs, ceramics and paintings in the building belong to him. The table and bed linen is marked with his initials and the Mercedes car used by the Expedition is his private property. The library was a long and narrow room and contained Herzfeld's comprehensive bibliography of ancient books on Persia and is considered the most complete collection in existence. The chauffeur Sa'id and the house servants had been in his employ in his bachelor home in Tehran. Dikka, the big Dane, haunts his bedroom and the howls of distress at her master's continued absence are harrowing. Altogether, the strength of his personality at Persepolis is almost as dominant as that of Darius."<sup>28</sup>

Smith's chief source of information concerning expedition personalities was apparently Donald McCown, the American archaeologist hired together with Alexander Langsdorff to work at the nearby site of Tall-i Bakun.<sup>29</sup> The Smiths felt an immediate affinity with the young man, who was the only American member of the expedition staff; "as a boy from home [he] became an intimate friend at once."<sup>30</sup> It was McCown's sympathetic view of Herzfeld that Smith most clearly absorbed. "McCown aroused my sympathy when he told of Herzfeld's difficulties this past fall in getting away from Persepolis to keep lecture engagements in England and America," Smith wrote. The initial delay, McCown informed Smith, was caused by the Swedish Crown Prince, whose visit to Persepolis was postponed until late November; Herzfeld had accordingly changed the dates of his Schweich Lectures at the British Academy in London. The problems occasioned by the Crown Prince's visit, which McCown

<sup>27</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 22, JLS Papers, AAA.

<sup>28</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 26-7, JLS Papers, AAA.

<sup>29</sup> Langsdorff & McCown 1942.

<sup>30</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 22, JLS Papers, AAA.

apparently did not divulge to Smith, ominously foretold an altogether disastrous departure.<sup>31</sup>

"Finally he [Herzfeld] started off and had gotten twenty miles on the road to Isfahan when his Mercedes broke down fundamentally. He sent a note back by a passing truck and Bergner came in his small car to drive him to Khanaqin. They had proceeded but a short distance when the door of the car, insecurely fastened by Herzfeld, flew open and he was thrown out, broke one wrist and cracked the other. Treatment in the Isfahan Hospital made him almost miss the first of his postponed lectures in England, by having lost his connection with the Imperial Airways plane in Baghdad. He managed, however, to get a place in a Dutch plane to Amsterdam. After this delay and suffering, which must have been trying indeed to such a sensitive temperamental man, he reached Chicago to be told by Breasted that Ehrich [sic] Schmidt was to replace him in Persepolis."<sup>32</sup>

By the end of his six weeks at the site, Smith had covered the thirty-eight yards of canvas with six paintings. Three of them were landscapes, and three were details of relief sculptures on the Apadana (see figs. 1-5). Smith himself delivered his paintings to the Oriental Institute early in June 1935. J.H. Breasted's reaction was conveyed via his son, Charles Breasted, assistant director of the Oriental Institute. "We are perhaps less impressed with his scenes of landscapes than we are with his absolutely superlative copies of some of the wall reliefs," Charles Breasted wrote to Prentice Duell in Cairo. "Being an artist yourself, you are the first to be able to judge of the magnificent quality of these reproductions."<sup>33</sup> An account of the Smiths' stay at Persepolis, adapted from a letter Corinna wrote to Breasted while they were at the site, was published in the June 1935 issue of the *University of Chicago Magazine*, the university's alumni publication.<sup>34</sup> Early in 1937, the paintings were displayed in the Oriental Institute's galleries (figs. 6a-b).

<sup>31</sup> Balcer 1991: 164. See also Mousavi [forthcoming], for a detailed account of this episode incorporating new archival sources.

<sup>32</sup> *Trip to Persepolis*, 27, JLS Papers, AAA.

<sup>33</sup> Charles Breasted to Prentice Duell, 13 June 1935, OI Archives.

<sup>34</sup> John Larson kindly brought this article and related correspondence to my attention.

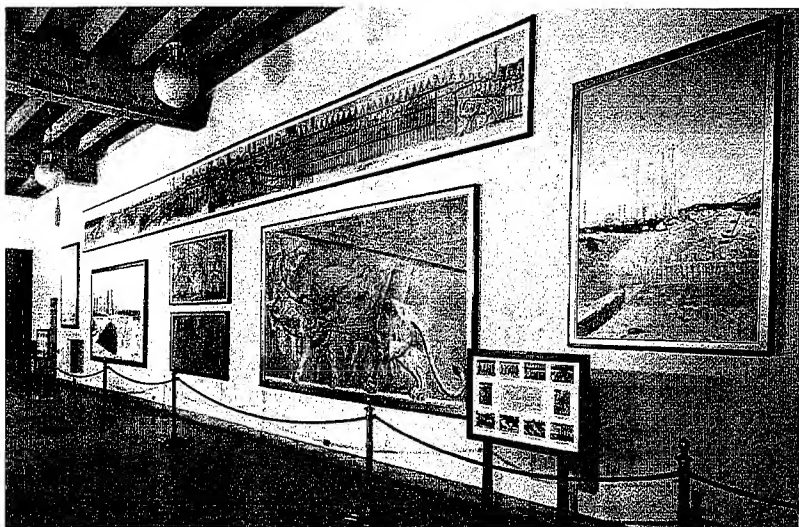


Fig. 6a-b: Oriental Institute Museum, west gallery, 1937.  
Display of six paintings by Joseph Lindon Smith, together with a photomural of the eastern stairway of the Apadana at Persepolis. Oriental Institute P. 29047 and P. 29048  
(photographs courtesy of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago).

The paintings have seldom been published. A document in the Joseph Lindon Smith Papers lists Oriental Institute photographs delivered to the press in May 1955, presumably for *Tombs, Temples and Ancient Art*, which appeared in the following year (J.L. Smith 1956). The list includes five of Smith's six paintings, together with six photographs of the site taken by the Oriental Institute.<sup>35</sup> In the end, however, only one of the paintings – a detail of the Scythian tribute bearers from the Apadana reliefs – was reproduced in Smith's autobiography (here, fig. 4b).<sup>36</sup> They provide a visual record of Smith's stay at Persepolis, augmented by his written account of the troubled Persian Expedition in the spring of 1935.

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<sup>35</sup> This single-page document accompanies the typescript *Trip to Persepolis*, JLS Papers, AAA.

<sup>36</sup> J.L. Smith 1956: opp. p. 241.



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## WIE WAREN DIE ACHAIMENIDISCHEN DOPPELPROTOMEN-KAPITELLE AUSGERICHTET?

Ursula Seidl – München

Es ist traurig, zu dieser Gedenkschrift beizutragen, weil es endgültig bewußt macht, nie mehr der Warmherzigkeit von Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg zu begegnen und nie mehr neue Ideen zur Geschichte von ihr zu erfahren.

Der Gedanke des endgültigen Verlusts führt mich dazu, hier eine nie schriftlich fixierte Idee eines anderen Wissenschaftlers vorzustellen und nach Möglichkeit zu begründen bzw. wenigstens wahrscheinlich zu machen: Ernst Heinrichs Vorstellung von der Positionierung der achaimenidischen Doppeltier-Säule in der Portikus. Zu danken habe ich W. Koenigs für die Lektüre des Manuskripts und für wertvolle Kommentare.

### Die üblichen Rekonstruktionsvorschläge

Angeregt durch die Reliefdarstellung einer Palastfassade an den achaimenidischen Königsgräbern (Abb. 1) ruht bei Rekonstruktionen achaimenidischer Säulenhallen der Architrav gleichermaßen auf den steinernen Köpfen der Doppelprotomen und einem dazwischen eingefügten hölzernen Block (Flandin & Coste 1851-4: 83, Taf. 87, 112, 122, 159; Dieulafoy 1893: 334f.). M. Dieulafoy (1884/5 II: 46-8 Abb. 33-5) hat wohl als erster die achaimenidischen Doppeltierkapitelle mit Sattelhölzern verglichen, die in der rezenten bäuerlichen Architektur Irans auf Holzpfeuern der Vorhallen aufliegen, um das Gewicht des Daches abzufedern. Ihm folgten andere Autoren (Perrot & Chipiez 1889: 496ff.; Francovich 1966: 221f.). E. Herzfeld untermauerte die Idee mit weiteren Beispielen (1920: 12-13, 104-8 "Sattelholz-Kapitell," 1941: 209-11, 239-42 "impost," "impost-block").

F. Krefter legte bei seinen Rekonstruktionen in die Vertiefung zwischen den beiden Tierköpfen ein langes Sattelholz, so daß "der Säulenkopf ... zusammen mit den beiden Tierprotomen gewissermaßen einen Kreuzkopf bildete" (Krefter 1971: 25) und führte darüber drei Balken, von denen nur der mittlere auf den Tierköpfen liegt. Diese Rekonstruktion hat sich in den

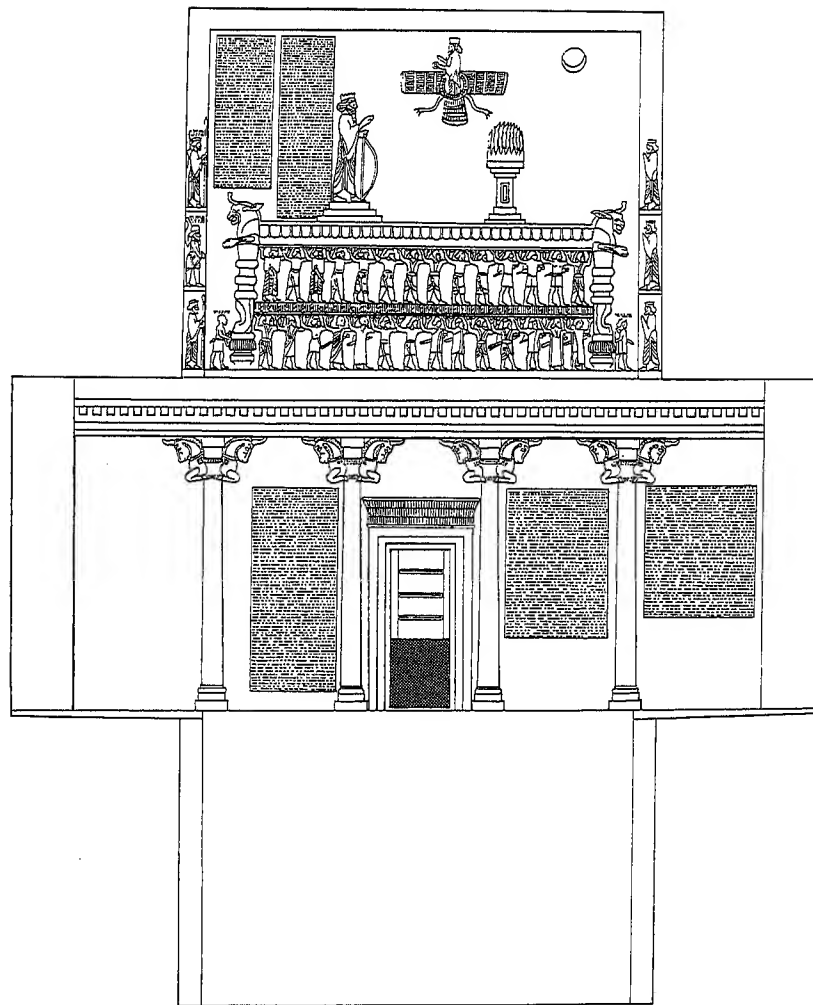


Abb. 1: Naqš-i Rustam. Grabfassade Darius' I. (Zeichnung C. Wolff).

Zeichnungen und bei der Rekonstruktion der Portikus des 'Harems' in Persepolis mit aus Holzbrettchen nachgebildeten Doppeltierprotomen bewährt. Doch bei steinernen Doppeltierkapitellen bliebe auch so die zu starke Belastung der Tierköpfe. Außerdem kämen die seitlichen Balken mit den hochgerichteten Ohren und Hörnern von Mischwesen (Abb. 2; Calmeyer 1995/6: 296 Taf. 24, 1.2) in Konflikt. Darüber hinaus gibt es einen Beleg dafür, daß die Unterzüge der

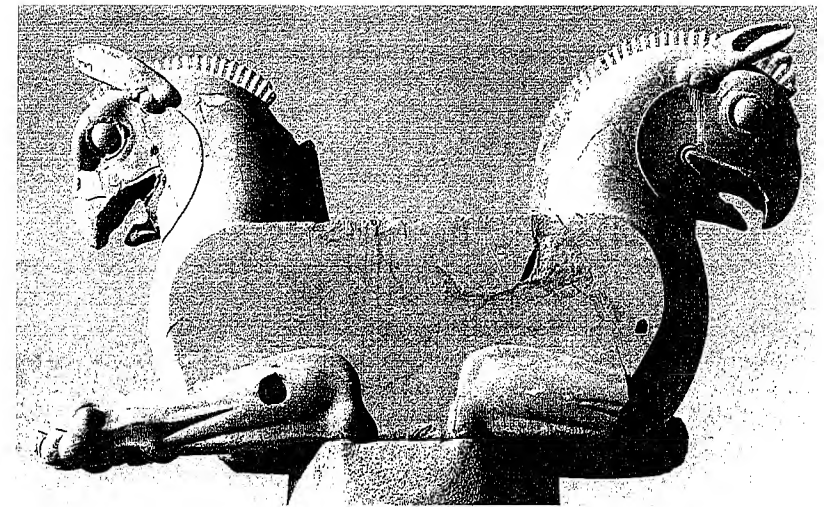


Abb. 2: Persepolis. Doppelgreifen-Kapitell (Phot. DAI, B. Grunewald).

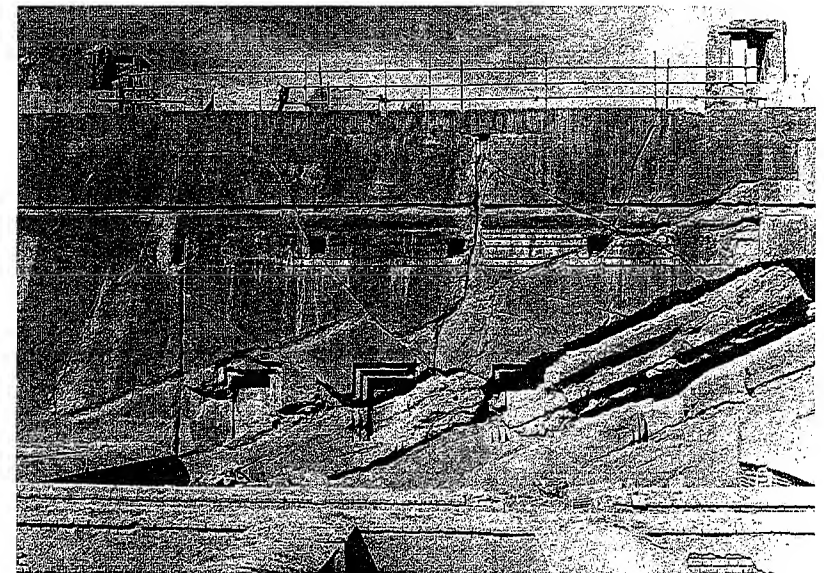


Abb. 3: Persepolis. Nordwand von Raum 4 im Westflügel des 'Harems' (Phot. DAI, B. Grunewald).

Decken zumindest in kleineren Räumen aus einzelnen Balken bestanden: in Raum 4 des Westflügels des 'Harems' (Abb. 3) besteht die Nordwand aus der ge-

glätteten und geschmückten Felswand,<sup>1</sup> in die in gleichmäßigen Abständen die Auflager einzelner Balken eingetieft sind. Von diesen Balken vermutet Haines (*apud* Schmidt 1953: 260 Abb. 102), daß sie auf den Rücken zwischen den beiden Tierköpfen lagen.

Bei der funktionalen Gleichstellung des Doppeltier-Kapitells mit einem Sattelholz wird die Vertiefung in der Mitte zwischen beiden Protomen ignoriert. Ein gewöhnlich dort postulierter Holzblock bzw. -balken (entsprechende steinerne Elemente sind nie gefunden worden) würde von dem aufliegenden Gebälk sehr schnell zusammengedrückt, so daß das Gewicht bald nur auf den Tierköpfen ruhen würde, die den Druck aber statisch nicht an den Säulenschaft weiterleiten könnten, sondern abbrechen würden. Keinesfalls kann die Vertiefung etwaigem bildnerischen Unvermögen der Achämeniden angelastet werden; denn ebenso wie spätere Steinmetzen in Cypern (Smith 1900: Nr. 1510 Taf. 27; Webb 1996: Fig. 142) wären diejenigen in Persepolis und Susa in der Lage gewesen, einen durchgehenden Stein mit zwei seitlichen Tierprotomen ästhetisch zufriedenstellend zu gestalten, wenn diese Form funktional erforderlich gewesen wäre. Außerdem ist es arbeitstechnisch eine Verschwendung, erst die Lücke zwischen den Köpfen auszumeißeln, sie dann aber mit Holz oder etwas anderem wieder aufzufüllen (W. Koenigs).

#### *Der Rekonstruktionsvorschlag E. Heinrichs*

Auch E. Heinrich sieht in der Architekturdarstellung an den achaimenidischen Grabfassaden (Abb. 1) die Reliefumsetzung einer offenen Portikus in antis. Doch geht er in der Rückübersetzung vom Relief zum realen Bau einen Schritt weiter als die anderen Bearbeiter. Er stellt sich die vollplastischen Tierprotomen auf den Säulenschäften um 90° gedreht und zwischen den Köpfen, auf dem gemeinsamen Rücken den Architrav ruhend vor (Abb. 4). Dieser verbreitert sich in flachen Stufen und kann so das Gewicht des Daches über die Tierrücken auf den

<sup>1</sup> E.F. Schmidt postuliert als Auflager für die in die Wandlöcher geführten Unterzüge ausdrücklich den Sattel zwischen den beiden Stierprotomen der Kapitelle. - F. Krefter hat bei seinem Wiederaufbau der Innenräumen des 'Harems' zwar ebenfalls einzelne Unterzüge verwendet (Schmidt 1953, Taf. 192), die sich über dem aus Doppeltier und eingelegtem Balken bestehenden 'Kreuzkopf' kreuzen, bezeichnet dies aber als Vereinfachung aus Gründen der Zeit- und Holzsparsamkeit. - Die Felswand mit den Blendnischen kann nicht ursprünglich eine Außenfassade gewesen sein, wie W. Kleiss (2000, 357 Abb. 3, 7) vorschlägt, denn oberhalb des fascettierte Frieses ragt ein ungeglätteter Felswulst vor, der nie zur Ansicht bestimmt war.

Säulenschaft übertragen. Auch für eine gegabelte Halterung des äußeren Dachbalkens gibt es Vergleiche in der rezenten bäuerlichen Architektur (Abb. 5; Kleiss 1995/6: 25-6 Abb. 28, 30; Herzfeld 1920: 11 Abb. 6; 1941: 210 Abb. 320a)

E.F. Schmidt (1970: 83) hat beobachtet, daß die Grabfassade eine Umsetzung der Portikus des Dariuspalastes in Persepolis ist. Dabei stimmen alle Außenmaße – Gesamtlänge von Portikus mit Anten, Höhe der Anten, Interkolumnien, Breite der Tür – so gut wie genau überein, andere Maße sind aber, um Überschneidungen im Relief zu vermeiden, geändert worden, so sind die Höhe der Tür und die Breite des Türrahmens verringert worden, um nicht mit dem Relief der mittleren Säulen zu kollidieren. Dagegen scheinen die Säulen des Grabes gegenüber denen des Palastes verlängert worden zu sein, errechnet aus der Höhe

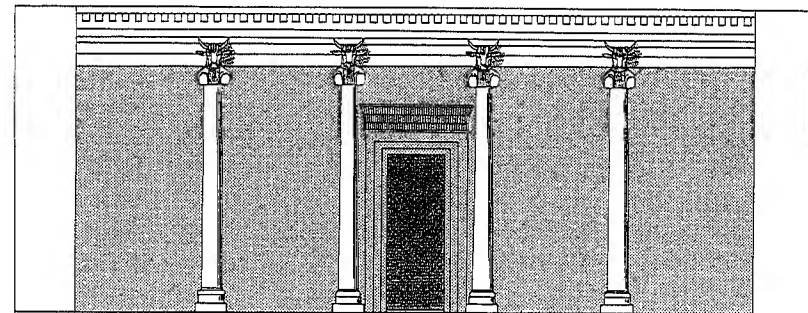


Abb. 4: Umsetzung der reliefierten Grabfassade in räumliche Architektur nach der Vorstellung von E. Heinrich (Zeichnung C. Wolff).

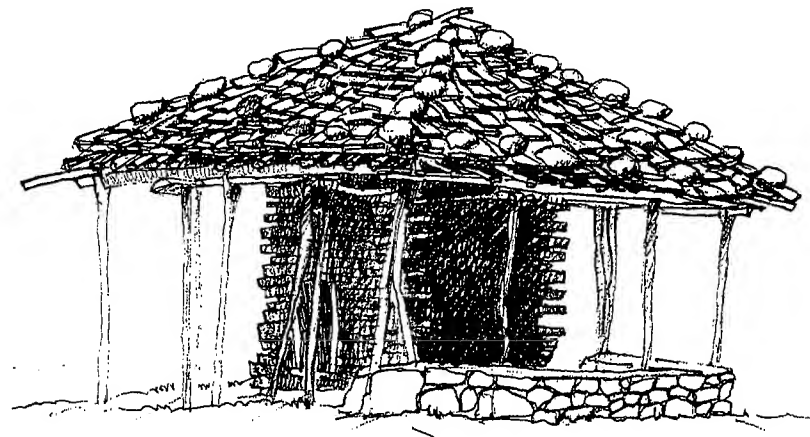


Abb. 5: Haus in Mazanderan, Zeichnung F. Krefter (nach Kleiss 1995/6: 23-5 Abb. 28).

von der Standfläche bis zur Oberseite der Stierköpfe (6,22 m) entgegengestellt dem unteren Auflager im Einschnitt der Anten (5,93 m). Legt man aber E. Heinrichs Rekonstruktion zu Grunde (Abb. 4), entspräche dem unteren Auflager in der Ante die Säulenhöhe von der Standlinie bis zur Oberseite des gemeinsamen Rückens der Doppelprotome (5,72 m), was eine geringfügig größere Säulenhöhe in Persepolis ergäbe. Diese Säulen würden dann auch nicht mit ihren Tierkörpern die Türbekrönung optisch verdecken, wie es in der Rekonstruktion von F. Krefter (1971: Beilage 11) der Fall ist. Bei dem Grabrelief wurde eine Überschneidung dadurch vermieden, daß die Tür niedriger gestaltet wurde. Ein weiterer Vorteil der Heinrich'schen Rekonstruktion besteht darin, daß der Architrav nicht mehr so kleinteilig faszettiert sein müßte und die sieben Stufen des Gebälks von unten nach oben einander zwar nicht genau in den Maßen aber in den Verhältnissen zueinander entsprechen würden. Der obersten, der achten Stufe der Grabfassade, einem 50 cm hohen Streifen, der bei den persepolitischen Gräbern mit Löwen geschmückt ist, würde dabei kein Einschnitt in der Palast-Ante entsprechen, so daß man annehmen kann, daß ein entsprechender Fries oben auf der Ante auflag und vielleicht das ganze Gebäude umzog.

W. Koenigs stellt noch folgende Überlegung an: "Wenn man an der Längsstellung der Doppelkapitelle festhalten will, könnte man allerdings auch Balken annehmen, die senkrecht zum Frontarchitrav zur Wand nach hinten gehen." Dem entspricht die Rekonstruktion von Flandin und Coste (1851-4: Taf. 122); doch würden dabei die Balken der beiden mittleren Säulen auf die Türbekrönung des Haupteingangs treffen, die aber unbeschädigt erhalten ist (Schmidt 1953: Taf. 128).

#### *Ausstrahlung und Nachleben*

Außerhalb des achaimenidischen Kernlandes (Pasargadai, Persepolis und Susa) haben sich keine Doppelprotomenkapitelle achaimenidischer Zeit erhalten. Der Einfluß dieser Architekturform ist aber an verschiedenen Orten des hellenistischen Orients evident. Im Stadtgebiet von Sidon wurden Fragmente eines Doppelstierkapitells gefunden, das ganz achaimenidischer Tradition verpflichtet ist, dessen Modellierung aber den griechischen Meister verrät (Contentau 1923; Olmstead 1948: Taf. 59; von Graeve 1970: 166 Taf. 74, 2. 3). Aus dem nord-östlichen Gebiet des ehemaligen Achaimenidenreichs, nämlich aus Zichia-Gora in Georgien, stammt ein weiteres Doppelstierkapitell, das auf andere Art stilistisch verändert ist (Gagošidze & Kipiani 2000: 62-3 Abb. 1.8, 2.3, 3). Hier ist der Einschnitt zwischen den beiden Hälsen fast ganz verschwunden und an seiner Stelle befindet sich nur eine leichte Mulde, in der vielleicht ein runder Balken gelegen haben könnte, aber kein eckig ausgearbeiteter Architrav. Ein

kopfloses Doppeltierkapitell stammt aus dem partherzeitlichen 'Grand Temple' in Masjid-i Sulaiman (Ghirshman 1976: 110-4, pl. XCIII.1-3; 41 GMIS 8).<sup>2</sup> Keines dieser Kapitelle ist in architektonischem Zusammenhang angetroffen worden.

In die Architektur eingebunden sind die stierförmigen Kapitelle einiger paphlagonischer Felsgräber (von Gall 1966: 116-9 Abb. 29H, K-M). Diese Gräber zeichnen sich durch eine aus dem Fels herausgehauene Vorhalle mit vollplastischen Säulen aus. Bei einigen liegt auf dem Schaft ein nach außen blickender Stier. Der Architrav ruht entweder auf seinem Rücken (Kalekapı: *ibid.* 13-21 Abb. 1, 29K; Taf. 2.3; Iskilip: *ibid.* 91-3 Abb. 14, 29M Taf. 10.1-2) oder ist in diesen eingetieft (Salarköy: *ibid.* 57-64 Abb. 3, 29L Taf. 4.1-4). Bei zwei stark verwitterten Kapitellen ist der Architrav zwischen zwei nach innen bzw. außen blickenden Stierköpfen durchgeführt (Beşdut: *ibid.* 101 Abb. 29H Taf. 13.2; Aygır: *ibid.* 106 Taf. 14.1-2). Diese letzten beiden Beispiele sehen aus wie stark vereinfachte Formen des achaimenidischen Doppelprotomenkapitells. H. von Gall tut sich schwer bei der Einordnung, weil er von der Sattelholz-Funktion der achaimenidischen Kapitelle ausgeht; legt man aber E. Heinrichs Rekonstruktion zugrunde, so sind die paphlagonischen Stierkapitelle zwar provinzielle, aber gute Nachfahren der achaimenidischen Form.

Die Stierprotomen, die den Beschauer frontal von oben herab anblicken, lebten auch unabhängig von Säulen in weit auseinander liegenden Gebieten fort. Im Osten zeugen die hoch in eine Mauer integrierten Stierprotomen in Bishapur (Flandin & Coste 1851-54: 49-50 Taf. 47) von achaimenidischer Tradition. Im Westen schauen am Heroon von Trysa vier solcher Protomen vom Türsturz auf den Hineintretenden herab (Oberleitner 1994: 20-1 Abb. 7, 9, 16, 27) und in Delos rundplastische Stierköpfe vom Metopen/Triglyphen-Fries an der Stoa des Antigonos (Webb 1996: 136-7 Fig. 117-8). Im letzteren Ort wurden in Haus II B Stuckfragmente gefunden, die aus nach außen gerichteten, scheinbar den Architrav tragenden Stierprotomen bestehen.<sup>3</sup> Im Eschmun-Heiligtum von Sidon, sind

<sup>2</sup> R. Ghirshman äußert sich nicht dazu, ob die sorgfältig gemeißelten Flächen, über denen die Köpfe gesessen haben müssen, zum ursprünglichen Zustand gehören oder einer späteren Verwendung zu verdanken sind. Er erwähnt nur, daß der Fundplatz sekundär war ("découvert à l'entrée du Grand Temple, transporté là sans doute par les constructeurs des tombes modernes").

<sup>3</sup> Webb 1996: 139 Fig. 121; vergleichbar ein Terrakotta-Modell in Karlsruhe mit Gebälk tragenden Widder- und Stierköpfen: Schürmann 1989: Nr. 399. Angesichts dieser Beispiele erscheinen mir auch am Eingang zum Adyton im "Monument aux Taureaux" in Delos nach außen blickende Stierprotomen wahrscheinlicher als die übliche Rekon-

Steinplatten und ein viereckiger Pfeiler mit Stierprotomen in griechisch-phönizischem Stil außer Verband gefunden worden (Stucky 1991: 470-1 Abb. 8; *idem* 1993: 263-4 Taf. 45 Abb. 2). R.A. Stucky zeigt eine Ausstrahlung bis nach Italien hin auf (Stucky 1991: 471-2 mit Anm. 35 Abb. 9-10).

Stierkopf und -protome an klassisch antiken echten Kapitellen könnte noch ein verwässerter Nachklang der achaimenidischen Form sein, könnte aber, wie andere Figuralkapitelle, auch aus anderen Wurzeln entwickelt worden sein (von Mercklin 1953/54; *idem* 1962: 194-7 Nr. 474-781).

### Vorläufer

Es ist mehrfach darauf hingewiesen worden, daß die Kombination zweier voneinander abgewandter Tierprotomen eine seit alters im Orient geläufige Form ist (Herzfeld 1941: 240 Abb. 127, 295; Calmeyer 1995/6: 296-8).

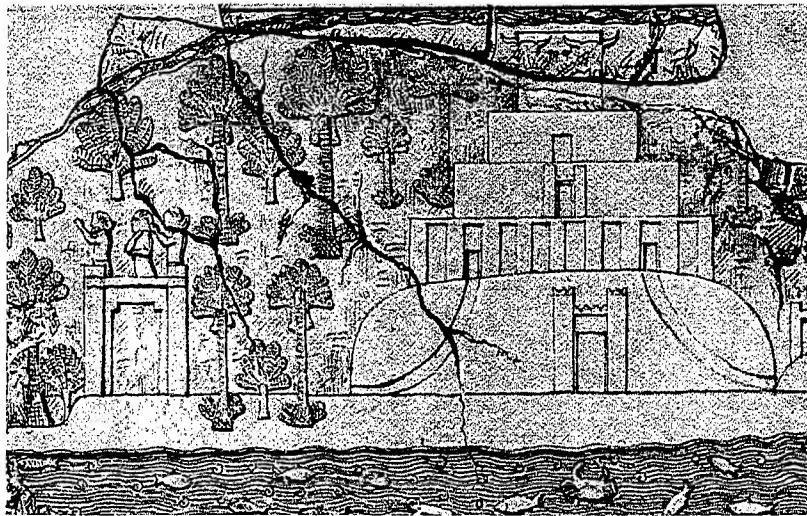


Abb. 6: Ziqqurat von Susa auf einem Orthostatenrelief Assurbanipals in Ninive (nach Reade 1976: 100 f. Taf. 25).

Für die andere Komponente der Säulenbegrünungen, wie E. Heinrich sie sieht, nämlich das Tier, das vom Gebäude her dem Herannahenden entgegenblickt, sind

struktion mit seitlich zu sehenden Tieren; zumal erst bei einer solchen Anbringung die Verdoppelung der Stierprotomen zur Geltung kommt (Webb 1996: 134-5 Fig. 113-4).

im weiteren Sinn vergleichbar die im Orient weit verbreiteten Wächterfiguren an Toren, wie sie auch in Persepolis begegnen. Engere Vergleiche stellen die neuelamischen Wandpflöcke dar, deren sichtbarer Teil als Tier- oder Mischwesenprotome vor der Wand sitzt (Amiet 1967). So schlägt denn S. Heim (1992: 210) vor, daß sie die achaimenidischen Doppelstier-Kapitelle inspiriert haben könnten. Darüber hinaus waren elamische Gebäude aber auch mit eindrucksvollen Stierköpfen unterhalb des Gebälks geschmückt, wie die Darstellung der von Assurbanipal zerstörten Ziqqurat von Susa zeigt (Abb. 6; Reade 1976: 100-1 Taf. 25). Darius ließ sich also vielleicht beim Konzept der Säulenbegrünungen seines Palastes von elamischen Formen anregen.

### Zusammenfassung

E. Heinrichs Hypothese,<sup>4</sup> daß die Kapitelle der Vorhallen so lagen, daß die bekrönenden Köpfe von Tier bzw. Mischwesen dem Eintretenden zugewandt waren, erscheint sowohl technisch als auch inhaltlich und stilistisch plausibel. Die seitliche Ansicht der Doppeltierkapitelle im Relief der achämenidischen Gräber entspricht der altorientalischen vorstelligen Darstellungsweise, bei der dem Beschauer die Seite gezeigt wird, die alle wesentlichen Teile vorführt – also hier die Tatsache, daß die Tierprotome verdoppelt ist –, die bei einer 'richtigen' Wiedergabe zum Teil verloren ginge.

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<sup>4</sup> An einigen Stellen in Persepolis stellen sich noch Schwierigkeiten bei der allgemeinen Anwendung von E. Heinrichs Hypothese ein: bei der Vorhalle des 'Harem' scheint das Fundament der Säulen im Verhältnis zu den Einschnitten in der Ante zu weit nach innen verschoben zu sein (Krefter 1971: 25); bei der Ostportikus des Apadana schreibt Flandin (1851-4: 101) zwar "quatre colonnes debout, mais privées de leurs chapiteaux," doch sind auf Photographien mindestens seit Sarre (1922: Taf. 10) Mischwesen parallel zur Fassade zu erkennen. Das einzige von Flandin und Coste (1851-4: 101 Taf. 89) beobachtete auf einer Säule sitzende Doppeltier-Kapitell des Apadana, in der West-Portikus, war aus der Achse verschoben. In ihrer Rekonstruktion (Flandin & Coste 1851-4 Taf. 112) blicken die Doppeltiere an der Ost- und Westportikus nach außen bzw. innen, an der Nordportikus aber seitlich.

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**LE ZENDAN DE PASARGADES :  
DE LA TOUR « SOLITAIRE » À UN ENSEMBLE ARCHITECTURAL  
DONNÉES ARCHÉOLOGIQUES RÉCENTES**

Rémy Boucharlat – Lyon

La tour qui se dresse isolée à Pasargades a suscité bien des hypothèses, comme la tour presque jumelle de Naqsh-e Rostam : tombe royale, temple du feu, lieu de conservation des emblèmes royaux, lieu du couronnement. En 1999, des prospections géophysiques ont révélé la présence de constructions importantes à proximité de la tour de Pasargades. Le monument reste une construction indépendante, mais il ne peut plus être considéré comme isolé. Les données archéologiques nouvelles et le rappel de quelques éléments déjà connus mais négligés, replacés dans leur environnement, modifient profondément notre vision de cette construction et, par là, stimuleront, espérons-le, de nouvelles interprétations pour les deux tours achéménides.

Dans un article publié en 1983, « The Zendan and the Ka'bah », Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg offrait en quelques pages claires et séduisantes une position du problème et une interprétation de la tour de Pasargades, appelée localement Zendan-e Solaiman. Sa proposition, celle du lieu de couronnement des rois achéménides, n'était pas nouvelle, mais elle montrait que, dans cette architecture, la position de la chambre au sommet d'un escalier de 30 marches permettait au nouveau souverain d'être *élevé*, au sens propre, au rang de roi. Comme en se jouant, Sancisi-Weerdenburg montrait aussi qu'on pouvait concilier l'inconciliable : si la tour était le lieu de couronnement c'est parce qu'elle avait pu être considérée comme la tombe symbolique des ancêtres de Cyrus, puis de ses successeurs, mais encore qu'elle avait pu abriter le feu royal. Dans ces conditions, la même interprétation pouvait être donnée pour la Ka'bah-ye Zardusht de Naqsh-e Rostam, œuvre de Darius, de quelques décennies plus récente ; cette dernière aurait marquée à la fois la continuité et le changement voulus par le premier roi de la nouvelle lignée, par ailleurs le constructeur de Persépolis. Mais la première tour n'est pas abandonnée à partir de Darius, au plus délaissée pour un temps, comme l'indique Plutarque (*Art.* 3.1-2) décrivant l'investiture d'Artaxerxès II. Selon Sancisi-Weerdenburg, la tour de Pasargades, référence obligée à Cyrus – le nouveau roi revêt sa robe – aurait pu



servir au couronnement lui-même, tandis que celle de Naqsh-i Rostam, dans la nouvelle capitale, aurait servi aux cérémonies anniversaires du couronnement et à la conservation des emblèmes royaux. Il reste à mentionner encore que le lieu de couronnement de Pasargades est aussi qualifié de temple d'Anahita « déesse guerrière » par Plutarque. Il est incontestable que l'intronisation du nouveau roi est aussi une cérémonie à caractère religieux dans laquelle le clergé jouait un rôle (voir HEP : 539-540). Au total, cela fait beaucoup de fonctions possibles qui s'additionneraient pour un sanctuaire dont la cella est une salle de 12 m<sup>2</sup>, dépourvue de fenêtre.

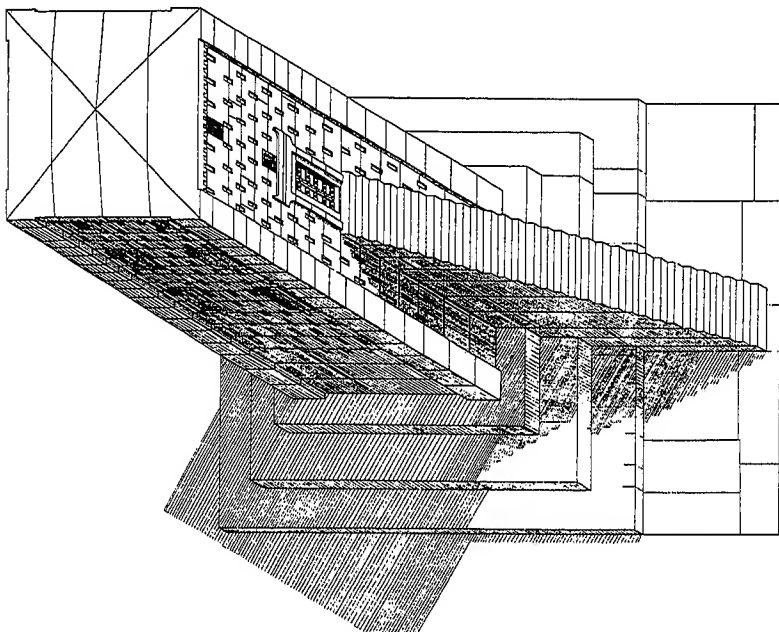


Fig. 1 : axonométrie du Zendan-i Solaiman (Stronach 1978 : fig. 66).

Pour les tenants de l'hypothèse d'une tombe (celle de Cyrus comme certains l'ont pensé jadis, ou une tombe provisoire pour celui-ci, ou encore celle de sa mère, etc.), l'un des arguments était la position isolée de cette tour à plusieurs centaines de mètres de toute autre construction. Elle est assurément une construction indépendante comme l'indiquent le débordement de son socle à trois degrés et plus encore celui de la plateforme rectangulaire qui la sépare de 3 m au moins de toute autre construction (fig. 1). La reconstitution proposée par D. Stronach, fondée sur la tour mieux conservée de Naqsh-i Rostam, montre

clairement que ces tours étaient visibles sur les quatre côtés. Indépendantes, ces constructions le sont sans aucun doute, mais isolées, ce n'est plus le cas pour la tour de Pasargades selon les découvertes récentes, nous invitant par là à reconsidérer aussi la position de celle de Naqsh-i Rostam.

#### *Un grand bâtiment et d'autres structures en arrière du Zendan*

Des prospections magnétiques ont été conduites en 1999 à proximité de la tour, vers sa face arrière, dans le cadre d'un programme franco-iranien d'étude de l'organisation de la capitale de Cyrus par des méthodes de surface.<sup>1</sup> À l'origine il s'agissait d'un test pour mesurer l'image magnétique que pouvait donner un léger accident de la topographie. En effet, une grande partie du site est plate, en très légère pente vers le Sud et cette régularité n'est rompue que par de faibles levées de terre et canaux rectilignes, dont certains ou tous pourraient être modernes, et un monticule ; celui-ci est situé au sud-est de la tour, à l'opposé de la façade ; c'est une éminence de moins de 1 m de hauteur au sommet plat. Elle est parfaitement visible sur la photo aérienne publiée par E.F. Schmidt (fig. 2 et Schmidt 1953 : pl. 5B). Elle avait été notée auparavant par E. Herzfeld en 1928 (fig. 3 ou Herzfeld 1930 : plan 1) qui l'avait relevé avec deux appendices, l'un dans l'axe de la tour, l'autre flanquant celle-ci du côté nord.

Aujourd'hui seule est encore visible l'éminence principale (fig. 4), mesurant, comme l'avait noté Herzfeld, environ 45 m de côté dans le sens NE-SO. Dans l'autre direction, la mesure est plus difficile à déterminer ; le terrain est aujourd'hui modifié par les fouilles en 1963, et probablement par les premiers travaux de consolidation de la tour en 1968 (Tilia 1972 : 68, figs. 160-3). On observe toutefois un ensemble d'une quarantaine de mètres de longueur qu'une dépression rectiligne sépare en deux parties inégales, l'une d'une vingtaine de mètres de largeur au sud, l'autre plus étroite, située à 20 m environ de la tour. Dans l'espace restant, rendu inaccessible à la prospection magnétique par la présence de l'échafaudage, on relève cependant une information : "a further mud-brick wall or a platform has been encountered behind the Zendan, again at a distance of little more than 5 m from the platform. In the almost complete absence of potsherds of any kind, brick sizes would still seem to confirm an Achaemenian date for the structures concerned" (Stronach 1965 : 16 n. 37, information non reprise par Stronach 1978).

L'image magnétique (fig. 5) montre clairement un plan quadrangulaire de 40 à 45 m de côté dans le sens NE-SO, correspondant à la forme et à la

<sup>1</sup> Voir Boucharlat & Benech 2002.



Fig. 2 : photo verticale du Zendan, extrait de Schmidt 1953 : fig. 3.

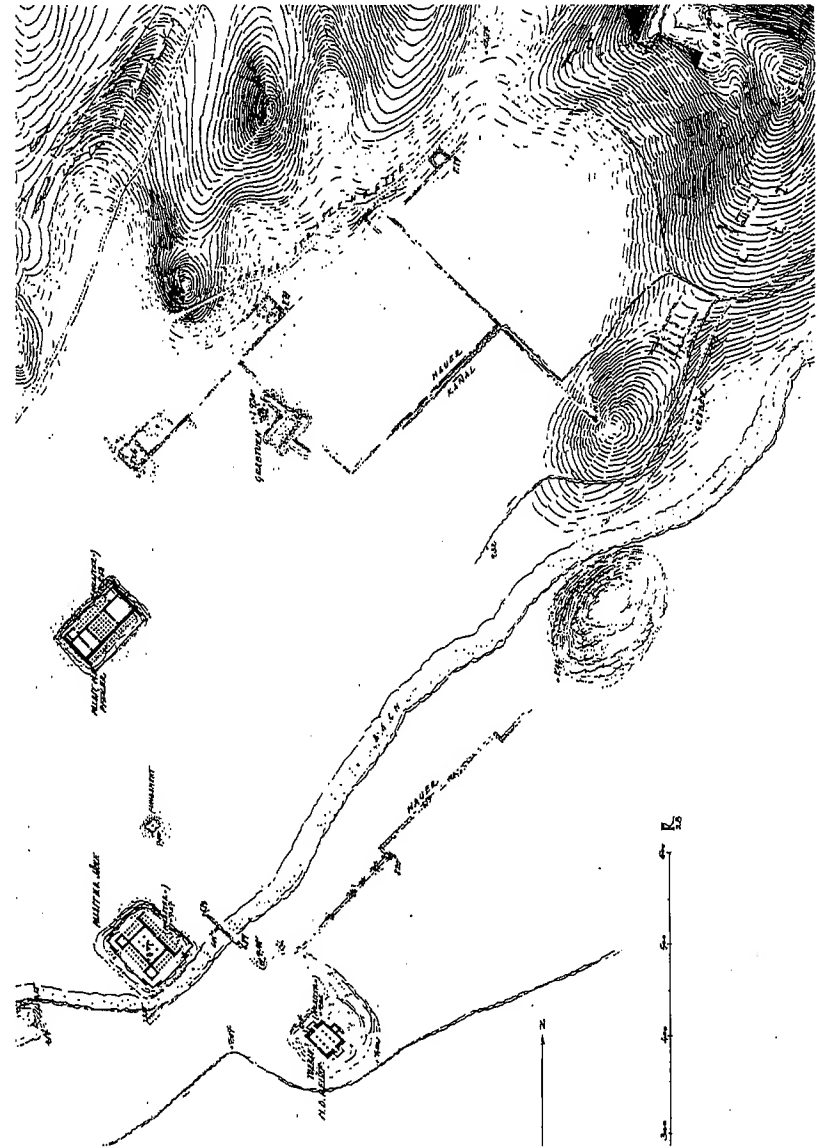


Fig. 3 : plan du Zendan et des traces anthropiques environnantes, extrait de Herzfeld 1930.



Fig. 4 : photo aérienne oblique du Zendan et du monticule en arrière  
(photo par cerf-volant B.-N. Chagny 2001).

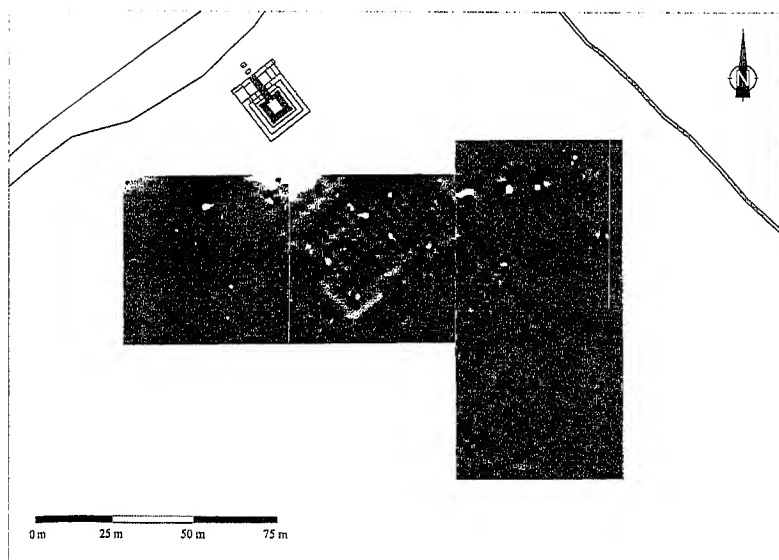


Fig. 5 : image magnétique du secteur du monticule derrière le Zendan (Ch. Benech 1999).

dimension du monticule encore visible. Les angles de cette structure, à l'opposé du Zendan, sont renforcés de contreforts quadrangulaires saillants. La largeur de l'ensemble est au minimum d'une vingtaine de mètres, mais une autre ligne parallèle apparaît à une dizaine de mètres à l'ouest, plus près de la tour. On retrouve là les indications de la topographie. Les limites de cette structure paraissent bien être des murs assez puissants, construits en pierres, d'après leur image apparaissant en blanc, indiquant un très faible magnétisme. La figure 5 montre sans aucun doute que cette construction suit la même orientation que le Zendan et qu'elle est située sur le même axe que celui-ci.

L'intérieur de la construction, ou du moins une partie de celle-ci, paraît organisé selon un plan en grille dont les cellules seraient très allongées dans le sens NO-SE. On peut distinguer deux ensembles juxtaposés s'étendant sur une trentaine de mètres, l'un au SO avec quatre compartiments courts, l'autre au NE avec 6 compartiments plus longs. À titre strictement indicatif, car la prospection magnétique ne peut pas atteindre une précision de l'ordre du mètre, les cellules auraient moins de 3 m de large, tandis que leur longueur est difficile à apprécier, car on distingue des murs de refend rompant la longueur de 6 à 12 m ; ils définissent des compartiments longs de 2 à 3 m pour certains et de 4 m, 6 m ou plus pour d'autres.

Au Sud-Est de cette construction quadrangulaire, on lit sur l'image d'autres anomalies magnétiques dont on ne trouve aucune trace sous une forme ou une autre en surface : deux lignes parallèles partant des angles de la construction qui après une soixantaine de mètres croisent une ligne perpendiculaire puis semblent se poursuivre au-delà. Un autre élément remarquable est visible précisément entre ces deux lignes sous la forme d'une série d'anomalies plus épaisses, discontinue mais disposée en ligne qui, elle aussi se poursuit vers le SE. Elle pourrait correspondre en partie à la légère éminence vue par E. Herzfeld dans l'axe de la tour vers le SE (cf. fig. 3), mais non visible sur la photo aérienne de E.F. Schmidt (fig. 2). Les anomalies rectilignes pourraient correspondre à des levées de terre ou des canaux sans rapport fonctionnel ni chronologique avec la structure quadrangulaire et encore moins avec la tour ; cependant leur orientation, semblable à ces deux figures, mais aussi aux lignes de labour modernes (Schmidt 1953 : pl. 5B) et leur accrochage aux angles de la structure incitent à les relier à celle-ci. En revanche, d'autres anomalies qui suivent une orientation un peu différente doivent être écartées (voir fig. 5 à l'Est et à l'Ouest de la figure à contreforts).

On se trouve donc en présence d'anomalies correspondant à des structures anthropiques situées selon la même orientation et le même axe que ceux de la tour ; ces anomalies courent sur près de 120 m de longueur en arrière du Zendan sur une largeur supérieure à 40 m. Une comparaison des dimensions avec celles du Zendan permet d'évaluer l'importance de ces aménagements. La

tour atteint la hauteur considérable de 14 m, mais elle ne mesure que 7,25 m de côté, tandis que le plus large des trois degrés qui la portent mesure 14,82 x 14,72 m. Quant au dallage inférieur, il mesure 19,51 x 14,82 m. L'ensemble de la structure est donc inférieur à 20 m de côté.

### *Essais de reconstitution du plan intérieur*

Il est difficile d'interpréter le secteur appelé ici l'enclos, mais soulignons la présence de la série d'anomalies situées dans le grand axe de ce rectangle et de la tour qui ne peut être négligée. En revanche, la figure quadrangulaire à contreforts présente un plan plus élaboré qui mérite d'être discuté. La division selon une grille suggère deux hypothèses, mais dans les deux cas, il ne faut pas perdre de vue que sur l'image magnétique ce dispositif n'occupe pas tout l'intérieur, sans que l'on sache si l'absence de grille vers les contreforts, surtout vers l'angle sud, correspond à la réalité ou au degré de conservation des vestiges. La différence principale entre les deux hypothèses réside dans la technique employée qui, selon le cas, pourrait être locale ou bien ionienne ; la technique impliquerait également des fonctions différentes.

Selon la première hypothèse, ce plan visible est celui de la *super-structure* ; dans ce cas, la construction serait constituée de plusieurs rangées de salles parallèles, de longueur variable, avec peut-être des couloirs perpendiculaires, mais très étroites, puisqu'on dispose au total d'un peu plus de 30 m pour dix espaces et les murs qui les séparent. Aucun intervalle ne paraît continu, mais tous sont coupés en deux ou en trois par des murs de refend. Pour le plus grand des deux ensembles, un couloir perpendiculaire semble relier les compartiments. Une telle image évoque un ensemble de magasins ou entrepôts avec, près des angles du bâtiment, dans le cas où la grille n'occuperait pas tout la surface, des espaces plus grands, non couverts, car ils dépassent 10 m de largeur. Ce système de magasins parallèles et étroits est connu depuis longtemps en Orient, dans le Zagros même en particulier ; pour les époques antérieures à Pasargades, plusieurs sites urartéens ou, plus proche, le Fort de Nush-i Jan pour l'époque mède (Stronach & Roaf 1978 : fig. 1) offrent un plan similaire. À Nush-i Jan, chaque magasin est large de 2,50 m et un couloir perpendiculaire les relie, comme on pense le voir à Pasargades. Pour l'époque achéménide, postérieure à Cyrus, on peut mentionner l'énigmatique Bâtiment D de Persépolis (Schmidt 1953 : 264, figs. 113-4), qui représente une construction, constituée de longues salles (ou caissons) parallèles de 2 m de largeur et de 7 m ou plus de longueur.

Dans ce type d'architecture, il est tout à fait plausible de restituer au-dessus d'un niveau de magasins étroits et parallèles, un étage à caractère résidentiel aux pièces plus larges, pourvus de rangées de supports (poteaux ou

colonnes) reposant sur certains des murs inférieurs, hypothèse qu'ont suggérée D. Stronach et M. Roaf (1978 : 6, n. 13) pour le « Fort » de Nush-i Jan.

Dans la seconde hypothèse, le plan lisible correspondrait uniquement à celui des *fondations* du bâtiment. Dans ce cas, le plan en grille n'aurait pas de correspondance directe avec celui du bâtiment en élévation. On serait en présence d'une technique bien attestée dans le monde grec dès le 6<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C., puis dans l'architecture achéménide postérieure à Cyrus. Parmi les exemples les plus connus dans le monde ionien d'où Cyrus a fait venir des spécialistes, citons l'Héraion de Samos, le diptère de Rhoikos du milieu du 6<sup>e</sup> s. ou le deuxième diptère dit de Polycrate postérieur à 530, ou encore l'Artémision d'Éphèse du milieu du 6<sup>e</sup> s. également.<sup>2</sup> Les constructeurs aménagent, sous les murs eux-mêmes, des murs de fondations, et, sous chaque rangée de colonnes, des murs continus, en général plus larges que les bases de colonnes.<sup>3</sup>

La comparaison du plan qu'on peut lire à Pasargades avec celui des fondations de constructions grecques n'est pas improbable, puisque ces deux techniques de fondation de colonnes, soit des fondations isolées soit des murs de fondation continus sous les rangées de colonnes, sont connues dans l'architecture achéménide postérieure à Cyrus. On ne les connaît pas à Persépolis, où le substrat rocheux les rend inutiles,<sup>4</sup> mais à Suse. Pour la première solution, celle des fondations individuelles pour les colonnes, citons le

<sup>2</sup> Reuther 1957 : 72, fig. 9 et Z. 1.

<sup>3</sup> En général, les fondations sont localisées sous les éléments portant, les murs et les colonnades ; elles dessinent le plan schématique de l'édifice (Martin 1965 : 310). Souvent cependant par économie, on établit une fondation, légèrement débordante, sous chaque colonne (Hellmann 2002 : 103). Cependant, on relie souvent ces piles en fondation les unes aux autres ou bien depuis la colonne au mur ; on aboutira à une autre technique, plus tardive : la fondation constituée de grils serrés de lambourdes, des murs en pierres soigneusement taillées et assemblées, qui ne reproduit pas le plan de l'élévation. Voir l'exemple célèbre du temple d'Apollon à Delphes, qui date du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle (Hellmann 2002 : fig. 104).

<sup>4</sup> Le rocher affleure sous le dallage en maints endroits ; là où il manque, les limites extérieures de la terrasse correspondant au bâtiment sont régularisées, ou augmentées de quelques mètres, par des murs de soutènement. L'Apadana est ainsi délimité dans un premier état par un mur de soutènement de 2,70 m de hauteur constituée de grands blocs appareillés ; il est ensuite agrandi de 2 à 3 m et ce sont les murs qui portent le parapet visible aujourd'hui qui retiennent un simple remplissage entre l'ancien mur et le nouveau (Tilia 1972 : 127-138, figs. 18-19, 23, 29). Voir cependant le Bâtiment G, déjà mentionné, où l'absence d'enduit sur les murs et les sols incite à y reconnaître non pas des salles mais des caissons de fondations. F. Krefter (1971 : 78-80, Beilage XXXVI) reconstitue en élévation six rangées de six colonnes.

système maintenant bien reconnu du Palais de Darius (Perrot 1981 : Taf. 1), et pour la seconde, la *reconstitution* proposée naguère pour le Bâtiment III du Palais du Chaour, érigé sur une terrasse, au début du 4<sup>e</sup> siècle. La largeur et la longueur des caissons sont soigneusement déterminées, comme celles des murs, selon un plan précis (Boucharlat & Labrousse 1979 : 33-35, figs. 1, 4-6). La technique est aussi attestée ailleurs, dans la Babylonie achéménide, à Babylone dans le « Perserbau », tel que l'ont reconstitué les fouilleurs, avec un portique et une salle hypostyle à deux rangées de quatre colonnes, pourvue de salles latérales ; celles-ci, comme les murs, reposent sur des murs de fondation larges de 1,50 m, espacés de 2,30 m (Koldewey 1931 : 121-125, pls. 26-8), ou encore à Nippur pour un petit bâtiment érigé, comme à Suse, sur une terrasse de briques crues (Gibson 1975 : 34-35, figs. 7-8). Là encore, on observe des largeurs de murs et de caissons de mêmes proportions (2,10 m pour les premiers, 2,60 à 4,50 m pour les seconds).

Dans l'emploi de cette technique, et cela quel que soit le procédé utilisé pour les colonnes, le plan des fondations doit permettre de reconnaître en élévation la largeur de l'espace compris entre les murs ou entre les rangées de colonnes. Dans les deux diptères de l'Héraion de Samos l'entraxe (par définition supérieur à l'espace compris entre deux supports) des colonnades extérieures varie, selon les emplacements et le sens, de 4,70 à 8,50 m.

Pour avoir une idée des entraxes qu'auraient choisis les architectes achéménides, et singulièrement ceux de Cyrus, observons d'abord les constructions hypostyles de Pasargades qui offre des cas très variés. Les entraxes<sup>5</sup> sont de plus de 7 m à la Porte R ; dans le Palais S, ils dépassent 6 m dans la salle centrale, mais sont trois fois plus petits dans les portiques de ce bâtiment ; dans le palais P, ils sont faibles, 3,50/3,75 m, même dans la salle centrale (Stronach 1978 : fig. 22, fold-outs 3, 5). La même diversité d'entraxes peut être observée à Suse, selon les bâtiments : 8,33 m pour les colonnes de l'Apadana de Darius (Mecquenem 1947 : 33), 3,04/4,24 m dans la salle hypostyle du Palais du Chaour et 3,70 m pour le bâtiment érigé sur la terrasse, entraxe reconstitué selon la disposition des murs de fondation qui déterminent des caissons remplis de graviers (Boucharlat & Labrousse 1979 : 43, fig. 5). Dans le « Perserbau » de Babylone, l'entraxe serait de 3,80 m (Koldewey 1931 : pl. 28).

On peut encore objecter qu'il serait surprenant que les architectes de Cyrus aient choisi pour le bâtiment en arrière du Zendan une technique de

<sup>5</sup> D. Stronach indique les espaces entre les bases de colonnes, et non les entraxes ; par addition de la largeur des colonnes, je restitue approximativement les entraxes pour rendre comparable ces dimensions aux entraxes des temples grecs évoqués ci-dessus.

fondation différente de celle des autres constructions de Pasargades. Dans les palais hypostyles de Pasargades, dont le sol est au niveau de la surface environnante, la fondation est simplement constituée d'une assise de grandes dalles qui passent uniformément sous les supports, murs et colonnes, et sous les espaces vides (par exemple Palais P, Stronach 1978 : pls. 68-9). La différence peut s'expliquer si le bâtiment en arrière du Zendan a été construit sur une *terrasse* entièrement artificielle, hypothèse invérifiable pour le moment mais que la topographie du secteur n'exclut pas. Des fondations en grille ménageant des caissons assure une plus grande homogénéité des substructures, au niveau du soubassement, c'est-à-dire au-dessus du sol environnant.<sup>6</sup> À l'appui de cette hypothèse, invoquons ici encore la technique de fondation du Bâtiment III du Palais du Chaour. Malgré la part d'incertitude que contient la reconstitution, il est évident que le réseau de murs délimitant des caissons assure une meilleure homogénéité de la terrasse, haute de 2,50 m, et que le plan particulier que dessinent ces murs de fondation a un rapport avec celui de l'élévation. On peut faire la même hypothèse pour le bâtiment sur terrasse de Nippur.

En définitive, si ce que révèle l'image magnétique correspond au plan des fondations, en sous-sol ou en soubassement, les murs que l'on observe peuvent correspondre en superstructure les uns à des murs en élévation (probablement en léger retrait, donc plus étroits comme ils sont restitués à Babylone), mais d'autres à des rangées de colonnes, comme à Babylone, ou comme dans l'exemple (reconstitué) du Palais du Chaour. Dans ce dernier cas, les murs de fondation avaient une épaisseur différente pour les murs et pour les rangées de colonnes. À Pasargades, d'éventuelles différences d'épaisseur ne peuvent pas être mesurées sur la base des anomalies magnétiques, laissant ouvertes toutes les possibilités de plans en élévation ; toutes les formes et toutes les dimensions de salles restent envisageables dans la limite cependant des portées habituellement utilisées dans l'architecture achéménide entre les murs, rarement plus de 5 m, ou, dans les salles plus grandes, entre ceux-ci et les rangées de colonnes qui les uns et les autres suivent le plan des fondations qui imposent un module de 3 m environ.

<sup>6</sup> La terrasse du Tall-i Takht présente, il est vrai, une technique de construction différente. Elle a été édifiée sans division interne, pour autant qu'on le sache, mais seulement par un mur de soutènement formant un coffrage puissant : à l'extérieur, un mur épais parfaitement appareillé et, en arrière de celui-ci, une ceinture de gros blocs, seulement dégrossis, disposés en lits. Le centre est constitué d'un remplissage d'éclats de calcaire avec parfois des lits de mortier blanc (Stronach 1978 : 13, fig. 5, pls. 3-4). Les architectes ont agrandi le sommet de la colline naturelle par remblaiement, le plus souvent sur une faible hauteur.



Ce module correspondrait à la largeur des petites salles ou à l'entraxe des rangées de colonnes dans de plus grandes.

#### *Un bâtiment de grande hauteur*

Les vestiges de la structure de Pasargades correspondant aux anomalies magnétiques témoignent d'une organisation soignée, qu'ils reflètent le plan du bâtiment lui-même ou, plus probablement, celui de ses fondations, peut-être surélevées comme un soubassement. Du fait de l'importance de ce système qui pouvait porter des colonnes, on est alors en droit de restituer une grande hauteur à cette construction. La comparaison ici encore avec les autres bâtiments de Pasargades invite à rétablir une hauteur qui pourrait être de 10 m ou plus ; en effet, les colonnes du Palais P dépassent 10 m de hauteur, celles du Palais S sont de plus de 13 m sans les chapiteaux ; à la Porte R, elles atteignent 16 m. Les murs, même s'ils étaient en briques crues, n'ont pas besoin d'être très épais, comme en témoignent ceux des palais de Pasargades, par exemple 1,62-1,64 m pour le Palais S (Stronach 1978 : 59 et fold-out 3).

Dans ces conditions, un bâtiment haut de 10 m ou plus, s'élèverait presque au niveau du Zendan lui-même (14,07 m), qui s'en trouverait en quelque sorte diminué. Dans cette image, la tour ne serait plus une sorte de repère élevé et isolé sur le site, mais une composante d'un grand ensemble architectural. Jusqu'à ce qu'il soit possible d'effectuer des mesures géophysiques plus près de la face arrière du Zendan, on admettra que celle-ci est située au maximum à une vingtaine de mètres de distance en avant de tout un ensemble construit ; elle en serait la partie avancée et détachée.

#### *Autres éléments de construction autour du Zendan*

Il reste à reconsidérer les autres éléments repérés par les travaux antérieurs. Sur les côtés et devant la tour, ils sont peu nombreux et difficiles à interpréter. D. Stronach (1978 : 129-130 et fig. 56) signale une pierre de seuil à deux perforations, des crapaudines, à 1 m environ du bord de la plateforme dans l'axe du bâtiment (voir aussi Sami 1971 : 109) ; elle indiquerait l'emplacement d'une porte à double battant. Deux autres dalles sont situées 2 m plus loin sur le même axe. Ensemble, ces pierres auraient pu marquer la voie d'accès au pied de l'escalier. Cependant ces éléments reposent sur une couche meuble et, selon le fouilleur, ils ne sont pas à leur emplacement d'origine. Si la pierre de seuil était en place, on aurait attendu, de part et d'autre de celle-ci, les vestiges du mur correspondant. Rien n'a été détecté dans cet alignement ; en revanche

d'importantes traces de briques crues ou même d'un mur ("a much-denuded mud-brick wall," Stronach 1965 : 16, n. 37) ont été repérées au-delà, à 5 m du bord de la plateforme, de même qu'à l'arrière à la même distance, comme on l'a signalé.

Le plan de E. Herzfeld (fig. 3) montre, à plus d'une dizaine de mètres au NE de la tour, une élévation de terrain, de forme épaisse et allongée, dans le prolongement du monticule prospecté. Il s'agit peut-être de la marque laissée par un mur. En restituant un mur symétrique au SO, on obtiendrait entre les deux murs hypothétiques une distance de 40 m environ, proche de la largeur du bâtiment situé en arrière de la tour. Notons que sur la photo aérienne verticale de E. Schmidt (fig. 2) une sorte de quadrilatère apparaît autour du Zendan, mesurant environ 50 m de côté ; il est de mêmes dimensions que le monticule recouvrant le bâtiment et englobe sa partie étroite. Cette figure n'est pas due à des travaux archéologiques antérieurs à 1935, puisque Herzfeld ne semble pas y avoir fouillé (cf. Herzfeld 1929 ; Krefter 1979), mais des travaux d'amateurs au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle ne sont pas exclus, comme à Persépolis.

En résumé, des traces de murs ont été repérés devant et derrière le Zendan, dans les deux cas à 5 m du bord de la plateforme qui mesure dans ce sens presque 20 m, et celles d'un autre mur sur un côté seulement à quelque 10-12 m du bord de la plateforme qui mesure à peine 15 m. Il n'est donc pas exclu de restituer autour du Zendan une clôture de plan quadrangulaire de 30 à 40 m de côté, comme l'indique la photo de Schmidt. Nous n'avons évidemment aucune idée de l'épaisseur ni de l'élévation de cette clôture hypothétique.

En s'éloignant de la tour vers le NO – et les nouvelles structures mises au jour en arrière de celle-ci nous incitent à changer d'échelle et à considérer une zone allant bien au-delà du dallage du Zendan – on remarque encore sur le plan de E. Herzfeld (fig. 3) à 50 m environ des alignements de moellons qui courent en surface sur plus de 200 m de longueur, ou même, avec des interruptions, sur près de 500 m. Leur orientation est proche de celle des constructions achéménides. Il ne reste pas de traces de ces figures aujourd'hui, en particulier du fait de la construction de la route asphaltée. Nous n'avons pas non plus la moindre indication chronologique sur ces vestiges. La plus grande prudence s'impose, me semble-t-il, instruit par l'exemple des longs murs parallèles de l'« enceinte sacrée », bien visibles en surface, mais sans fondation selon la prospection géophysique. Ils sont peut-être bien plus récents que les plinthes en pierre et la série de terrasses superposées (Boucharlat & Benech 2002 : 30-2). Dans le doute, et en attendant d'éventuelles prospections géophysiques, il est préférable de laisser de côté ces lignes de murs qu'il fallait cependant signaler.

L'image d'une construction indépendante, peut-être entourée d'une enceinte qui lui est propre, associée maintenant à tout le complexe qui apparaît en arrière du Zendan, permet d'en finir avec l'isolement de la tour. Ajoutons que nous ne connaissons pas encore toute l'extension du jardin royal, dont les

canaux les plus proches sont distants de quelque 200 m (fig. 6), mais, au vu des résultats acquis par la prospection magnétique au Sud et à l'Ouest du jardin royal, il n'est pas impossible qu'au nord du palais P des aménagements liés à ce jardin restent à découvrir, rapprochant encore l'ensemble du Zendan des autres constructions royales.

#### *Vestiges architecturaux autour de la Ka'bah de Naqsh-i Rostam*

La reconstitution du Zendan comme la partie avancée d'un complexe architectural de plus de 80 m ou même 150 m de longueur invite à s'interroger sur ce qui pouvait être l'environnement bâti de la tour jumelle de Naqsh-i Rostam. La documentation archéologique de ce site est extrêmement pauvre pour l'époque achéménide. E.F. Schmidt a bien tenté d'atteindre les niveaux de cette époque par quelques sondages pratiqués autour de la Ka'bah, mais les résultats sont restés limités, du fait de la profondeur pour atteindre le sol achéménide à plus de 5 m sous la surface et de l'importance des vestiges plus tardifs, sassanides et islamiques, qui devaient être traversés pour atteindre celui-ci (Schmidt 1970 : fig. 18).

Un sondage de 25 m de côté a permis de dégager la tour et ses degrés, sans guère déborder les limites du soubassement (fig. 7). D'autres sondages pratiqués l'un à 20 m au SO de la tour et l'autre à 100 m à l'Est ont mis au jour des constructions dont certaines sont attribuées, avec hésitation, à l'époque achéménide par Schmidt (fig. 8 et Schmidt 1970 : figs. 25-6). En faveur de cette datation, le fouilleur se fonde sur : le niveau des sols et des murs par rapport au sol de la tour ; la nature comparable de la couche sur laquelle reposent ces constructions, des cailloux et des éclats de pierre mélangés à de la terre ; la dimension des briques et la présence sur les faces des murs d'un enduit verdâtre. Il compare ces deux derniers éléments à ce qu'il observait à la même époque sur les constructions de Persépolis (Schmidt 1970 : 57, 64), mais il reconnaît lui-même que la plupart des briques sont plus grandes que le format achéménide qui est de 33 x 33 x 13 cm, à la rigueur variant de 32 à 34 cm (Schmidt 1970 : 57, n. 9) et que l'orientation de ces structures, qui n'est pas exactement celle de la tour (variant de 1 à 3°), peut se retrouver également dans des constructions plus tardives. En définitive, les constructions retrouvées à l'ouest de la tour seraient, pour la plupart, des reconstructions post-achéménides de structures achéménides, tandis que quelques murs mis au jour à 100 m à l'Est de la tour, en face du tombeau de Darius pourraient être achéménides.

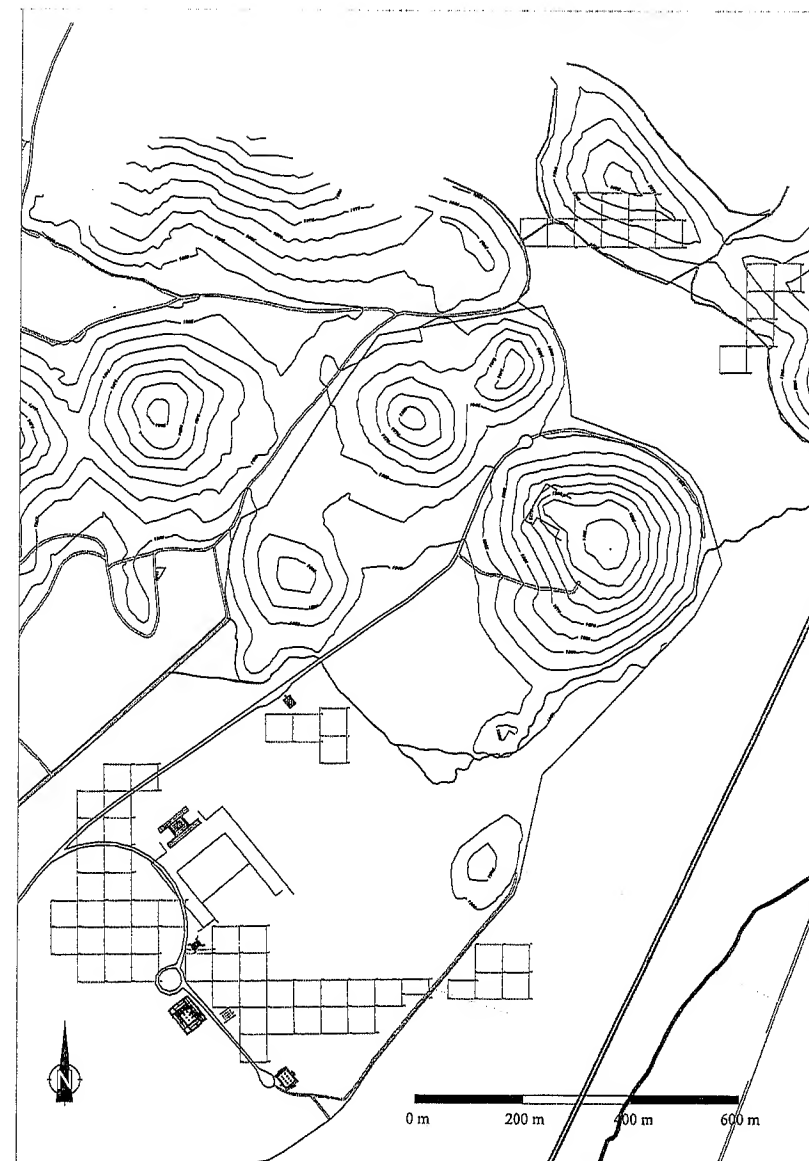


Fig. 6 : plan partiel de Pasargades et emplacement des zones prospectées (Iranian Cultural Heritage Organization 1996 et Ch. Benech 2001).



En gardant à l'esprit ces datations incertaines, les structures achéménides ou d'origine achéménide seraient :

- Au SO (fig. 7) un mur situé à 9 m environ de la face Ouest de la tour, et au-delà deux petites constructions (Buildings I et II), fondés au même niveau que la tour et pourvus d'un étage ; à plus de 30 m de la tour, deux autres murs parallèles, d'épaisseur inconnue, formant un couloir. Nous sommes très mal renseignés sur ce secteur fouillé par E. Herzfeld. On retrouve là des éléments qui pourraient correspondre à un ou deux murs d'enclos, rappelant les traces de murs en briques crues de Pasargades.
- Au nord, la façade de la tour est à 45 m environ de distance du pied de la falaise qui porte les tombes royales, mais rien n'est connu dans ce secteur qui n'a pas été exploré.
- En arrière de la tour, au sud, la puissante muraille d'époque sassanide, bien visible aujourd'hui encore sous la forme d'un énorme talus, masque les éventuelles constructions sous-jacentes. Le parement extérieur de cette fortification de 9,50 m d'épaisseur, dégagée par E. Herzfeld, se trouve à moins de 20 m en arrière de la tour (Schmidt 1970 : 58, figs. 2, 4). L'exploration de ce secteur, correspondant comme à Pasargades à l'arrière de la tour, demanderait de gros efforts.
- À 100 m à l'Est, dans un long sondage (50 m), deux salles sont séparées par un mur épais de 1,45 m, construit en briques crues de format achéménide. Ces structures reposent sur la couche d'éclats de roche et de terre, et leur orientation ne dévie que de 1° de celle de la Ka'bah.

Si on accepte la chronologie proposée par Schmidt pour certaines constructions, tant à l'Ouest qu'à quelque 100 m à l'Est de la Ka'bah, celle-ci n'est pas une tour isolée, tout en étant certainement une construction indépendante comme l'indique son socle, par ailleurs un peu plus petit que celui du Zendan de Pasargades.

#### *Les tours et les bâtiment associés : quelle(s) fonction(s) ?*

Ces éléments anciens et nouveaux, beaucoup plus consistants à Pasargades qu'à Naqsh-e Rostam, n'apportent pas directement d'indication sur la fonction – ou les fonctions – des deux tours. Mais la présence de constructions à proximité oblige à ne plus raisonner à partir de la tour seule, même si elle reste apparemment l'élément principal de l'ensemble et probablement le plus visible. Dans les deux cas, même si on admet que des traces de bâtiments ou des murs sont de l'époque achéménide, il est impossible de prouver qu'ils remontent à l'époque même de la construction de chacune des deux tours. Il n'en demeure pas moins que celles-ci, à un moment donné, très probablement dès l'époque achéménide, ont été utilisées avec un environnement bâti.

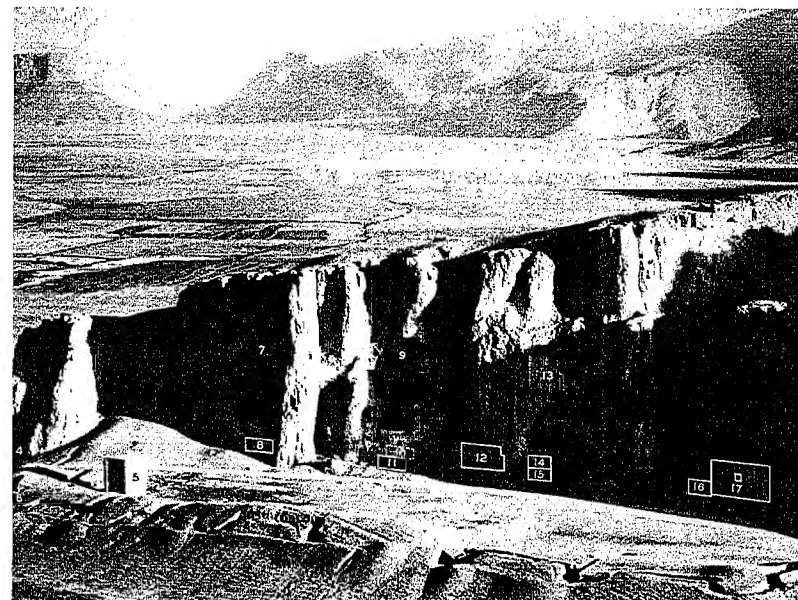


Fig. 7a-b : vues de la Ka'bah à Naqsh-e Rostam (Schmidt 1970 : fig. 2 et pl. 1).

Dans cette vision nouvelle, il faut considérer les tours comme un des éléments parmi d'autres d'un ensemble architectural, au point que, d'après la lecture des images topographiques et géophysiques de Pasargades, le Zendan ne devait pas dominer très nettement les autres constructions, que ce soit par ses dimensions au sol et surtout par son élévation, tout comme la Ka'bah n'est pas le repère dans le paysage de Naqsh-e Rostam.<sup>7</sup>

Cette restitution ne s'oppose en rien à l'hypothèse reformulée naguère par Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg et d'autres savants, celle d'un lieu de couronnement ; en revanche, elle constitue une sérieuse objection à l'hypothèse d'une tombe royale, une tombe véritable, dans la mesure où cette interprétation reposait largement sur la position isolée du Zendan. Il suffit de comparer la situation de la tour de Pasargades avec celle du tombeau de Cyrus qui, aujourd'hui encore, en attendant la confirmation qu'apporterait une prospection géophysique, paraît isolé du quartier royal et d'autres constructions. Cet isolement avait déjà frappé les auteurs anciens qui admiraient les plantations d'arbres et les prairies qui environnaient le tombeau. Il est clair maintenant que le Zendan ne se trouvait pas un tel contexte de nature aménagée, mais bien dans une zone construite.

Nous sommes si peu renseignés sur la réalité architecturale du lieu de couronnement et sur son fonctionnement que rien ne s'opposerait à ce qu'il soit un ensemble de bâtiments plutôt qu'une simple tour. Au contraire, une sorte de petite estrade très élevée en avant d'une chambre de moins de 12 m<sup>2</sup> paraît peu appropriée pour remplir une fonction officielle très importante. Le cérémonial qui permettait au nouveau roi d'affirmer son nouvel état devait prendre place dans un lieu symbolique, dans lequel devaient être préparés les équipements et les documents nécessaires à la mise en scène. Ce matériel important et précieux pouvait difficilement prendre place dans la petite salle du Zendan, tout au plus un vestiaire, à peine suffisant pour contenir quelques intimes du roi et les serviteurs chargés de lui présenter les vêtements symboliques et les mets à consommer (Plut. Art. 3.1-2). Les ensembles architecturaux dont l'une et l'autre tours faisaient partie devaient être suffisamment vastes pour conserver en permanence un matériel important, bien gardé, et probablement accueillir dans les périodes de cérémonies un certain nombre de personnes, prêtres, nobles et serviteurs chargés de la mise en scène. À cet égard, il est tentant d'imaginer que les vestiges de murs qui définiraient un enclos de 30 à 40 m de côté à Pasargades, comme peut-être certains murs à Naqsh-e Rostam, correspondent à la zone

<sup>7</sup> La tour, malgré ses 14 m de hauteur, est littéralement écrasée par la falaise haute de 64 m et largement dominée par la tombe de Darius, haute de près de 23 m, et dont la base est à 15 m au-dessus du sol achéménide (fig. 7, cf. Schmidt 1970 : 80).

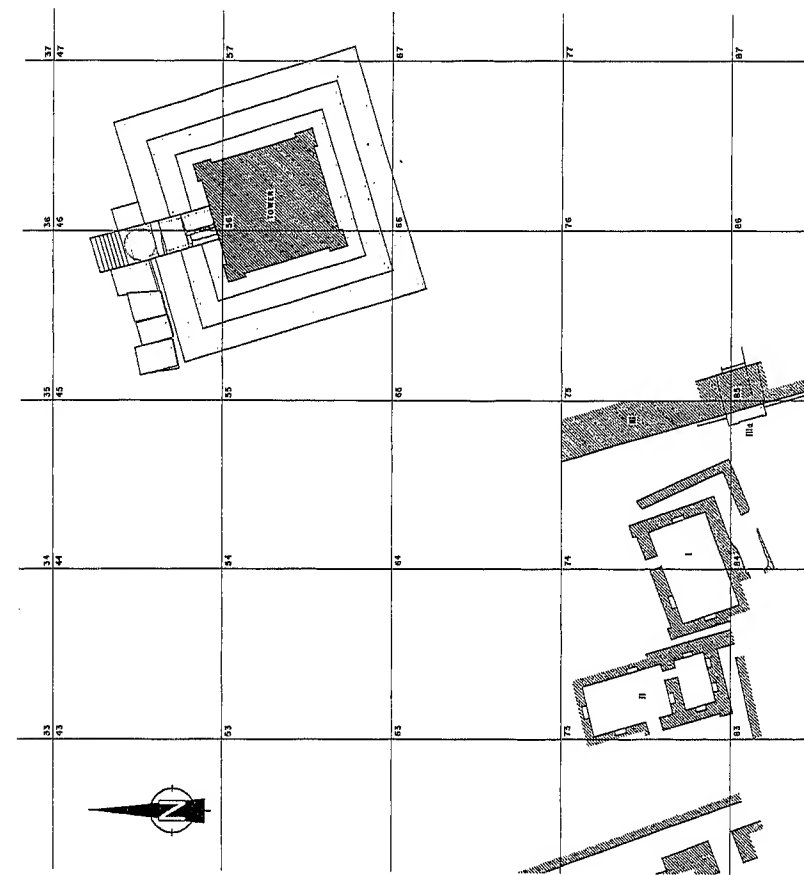


Fig. 8 : plan des structures supposées achéménides à l'ouest de la Ka'bah (Schmidt 1970 : fig. 23D).

restrictive où prenaient place les participants à la cérémonies, prêtres et nobles (HEP : 539).

On ne peut qu'approuver E. Schmidt (1970 : 44) et D. Stronach (1978 : 135), pour qui la Ka'bah et le Zendan devaient être bien gardés s'ils devaient abriter des emblèmes et objets royaux. Tel est bien le cas de la Ka'bah. Schmidt rejetait cette hypothèse, estimant qu'elle était trop loin de Persépolis ; elle est pourtant bâtie dans un haut-lieu où se trouvent les tombes royales et fait partie intégrante de la capitale. Tel devait être le cas du Zendan, qui se dresse dans la

ville royale de Pasargades, une position de choix mais insuffisante pour la sécurité si elle n'avait pas de murs pour la protéger.

Ces observations triviales n'ont pas été faites jusqu'à présent puisque nous ne connaissons pas de constructions et d'espaces aménagés autour du Zendan, alors considéré comme un monument isolé. La nouvelle vision que l'on entrevoit pour cette zone ouvre de nouvelles perspectives tant pour la fonction de ces bâtiments que pour la reconstitution du cérémonial. En définitive, l'environnement du Zendan se rapproche de celui de la Ka'bah qui est érigée dans un secteur particulièrement important du site de Persépolis, un haut-lieu depuis des millénaires, bien protégé sans doute dès l'époque achéménide et certainement à l'époque sassanide. En retour, il est tentant maintenant de rechercher les traces des limites, probablement bien marquées, qui définissaient le haut-lieu de Pasargades, dans lequel prenaient place le Zendan et les constructions associées.

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**AN ELAMITE MEMORIAL:  
THE ŠUMAR OF CAMBYSES AND HYSTASPES\***

Wouter Henkelman – Leiden

Not long before she died, Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg made me promise that I would not devote my career to completing hers. That promise was, in a way, an easy one: one could not even dream of developing all the thoughts she left behind in her notes. What strikes one most when going through those files is the multitude of the interests upon which she reflected, the manifold perspectives taken by her versatile mind. Heleen kept an open eye for disciplines other than her own and she was always keen on interdisciplinary approaches in both her writings and her teaching. It was, in my eyes, one of the most characteristic features of her persona that she used to encourage and praise people who pursued areas of research that she herself did not. Although she often mocked me for studying “die apetaal,” it was first and foremost Heleen who stimulated me to focus my dissertation on the Elamite sources. It will be from old Elam, then, that I offer this tribute to my much regretted teacher.

*1. Introduction*

The Persepolis Fortification archive comprises many thousands of epigraphic and anepigraphic documents. The major part of the archive consists of Elamite-inscribed tablets, of which perhaps as many as 7,000 are legible. A corpus of 4823 texts is presently available in transliteration.<sup>1</sup>

\* I am much indebted to R. Beekes, R. Boucharlat, P. Briant, U. Calmeyer, A. Kuhrt, J. Tavernier and M. de Vaan for their generous and productive comments, criticism and suggestions. For any errors of judgement or other flaws which the present paper may still contain, I remain solely responsible.

<sup>1</sup> Hallock published 2087 tablets in 1969 (PF) and 33 in 1978 (PFa). Also, he left a manuscript containing transliterations of 2553 additional tablets (NN). Another group of 151 tablets (one of which was included in the Hallock manuscript) was transliterated

Interpreting the PF texts is hardly an easy task and it is more than just a platitude to say that none of these documents was written to inform the eager historian. The archive has indeed an unparalleled potential for revealing the intricate socio-economic web of the Persian homeland. Yet, the Fortification Texts yield their treasures only at a certain price. Although the inaccessibility of individual texts should not be overstressed – the regular types can be understood without major problems – the reconstruction of the archival and administrative contexts and the coherence of groups of texts still causes many perplexing difficulties. Apart from that, the defective knowledge of the Elamite lexicon seriously limits our understanding of texts of the less common type. As a result of these uncertainties, it is hard to delineate a neatly limited subject for discussion: almost any study relating to the archive inevitably has to reckon with the whole corpus and often a considerable time will have to be invested in lexicographic difficulties.

The scenario described above certainly applies to the present study, which primarily focuses on the word *šumar* in a group of only four texts, but includes a number of admittedly lengthy discussions of contextual evidence.<sup>2</sup> This elaborateness seems warranted, however, by the contention of this paper, that *šumar* refers to a tomb, grave, burial mound or in any case some sort of memorial monument related to deceased noble and royal Persians, including Cambyses and Hystaspes. Hitherto, no texts relating to the Achaemenid funerary realm have been identified in the PF archive.

## 2. The *šumar* in the Fortification archive

Thus far, there are four texts known from Persepolis Fortification, in which the word *šumar* occurs. All of these texts are unpublished. Transliterations of three texts (NN 1700, NN 1848, NN 2174) are included in the Hallock Nachlaß (see above, n. 1). A fourth text (Fort. 2512) is part of a group of 151 tablets that were returned by G.G. Cameron to the National Museum of Iran (then Irān-e Bāstān). It is quite possible that more occurrences of the word *šumar* will surface in the hitherto untransliterated parts of the Fortification archive.

(but not published) by G.G. Cameron before they were returned to Tehran (Fort.). Apart from these 4823, there are many more tablets in the PF archive, but only some 1,000 to 2,000 may be legible (estimation based on pers. comm. from C.E. Jones). The tablets that have been transliterated thus far date to the period 509-494 BC.

<sup>2</sup> For those who find this prospect discouraging: there is a summary, § 5.4, below.

The transliterations presented here are quoted from the Hallock and Cameron manuscripts, although the orthography has been slightly adapted (giving the regular Sumero-Akkadian sign-values instead of the simplified values adopted by Hallock).<sup>3</sup> These transliterations have been collated from the tablets or, in the case of Fort. 2512, from a set of photographs. This does not establish the texts presented here as independent editions: the collations were merely intended to gain an idea of the validity and strength of the restorations proposed by Hallock (RTH) and Cameron (GGC). The interpretations, on the other hand, are mine only, as the Hallock and Cameron mss. do not include translations. The commentaries do not normally include remarks on irregular sign-shapes, erasures, etc., but focus primarily on issues that are in some way relevant for the present study. Permission for publication of the Hallock and Cameron transliterations was generously granted by the curator of the Persepolis Fortification Tablets, Matthew W. Stolper.

NN 1700 (Fort. 6544); seal: PFS 0011\* (left edge); box: 1048

transliteration by R.T. Hallock

- 1 <sup>DIŠ</sup>šī-ia-<sup>ti</sup>iz<sup>1</sup>-za tu<sup>4</sup>-ru-iš
  - 2 <sup>DIŠ</sup>zī-<sup>iš</sup>1-[šā]-<sup>iš</sup>ū-iš na<sup>1</sup>-an
  - 3 <sup>KI</sup>+MIN 60 <sup>GIŠ</sup>BAR<sup>1</sup>MES<sup>1</sup> <sup>SE</sup>1.BAR<sup>MES</sup>
  - 4 <sup>HAL</sup>LU<sup>MES</sup> <sup>HAL</sup>ak-ka<sup>4</sup>-be <sup>AS</sup>šu-
  - 5 ma-ir <sup>HAL</sup>nu-iš-ki-ip
  - 6 <sup>HAL</sup>mi-iš-da-āš-ba-na
  - 7 <sup>AS</sup>ba-ir-šā-iš <sup>HAL</sup>hu-pi-
  - 8 be-na gal <sup>HAL</sup>li-ba-
- lower edge
- 9 ip ap-pi-ni-<sup>na</sup>1
  - 10 ap id-du <sup>AN</sup>ITI<sup>MES</sup>
- reverse
- 11 <sup>AN</sup>du-<sup>ru</sup>1-ma-ir 'a-ak'
  - 12 <sup>AN</sup>sa-<sup>a</sup>1-[ik]-<sup>ra</sup>1-zī-iš
  - 13 <sup>AN</sup>kar-<sup>ma</sup>-ba<sup>1</sup>-taš PAP 3
  - 14 <sup>AN</sup>ITI<sup>MES</sup> ha-tu-ma <sup>AS</sup>be-

<sup>3</sup> Also, abbreviations like 'm[asculine]' for HAL, 'f[eminine]' for SAL, 'd[ivine]' for AN, etc., are avoided here both in order to avoid a too interpretative transliteration as well as to be as clear as possible about the signs used. By doing so, this publication adheres to the standard set for future publications of Fortification tablets by the Oriental Institute. Tablet numbers are cited in full ('PF 0830' instead of 'PF 830').

- 15 *ul 20(+)[3]-<sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
 16 *<sup>r</sup>2 x y un-ra 3<sup>1</sup>-na*  
 17 *<sup>r</sup>7 x y un-ra<sup>1</sup> 2-na*  
 18 [PAP] *<sup>r</sup>9<sup>SAL</sup> kur-taš<sup>rHAL</sup> hi-<sup>r</sup>in-tamš<sup>1</sup>-uk-ka<sup>4</sup> tal-li-iš*  
 19 *bat-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-ka<sup>4</sup>-maš<sup>rHAL</sup> ka<sup>4</sup>-me-iz-za li-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>*  
 upper edge  
 20 *du-me<sup>rHAL</sup> hi-ti-<sup>r</sup>be<sup>1</sup>-ul-mar du-<sup>r</sup>iš<sup>1</sup>*

#### Interpretation

<sup>1-3</sup> To Šiyatizza speak, Ziššawīš speaks as follows:

<sup>3-10</sup> "Issue 600 quarts of grain (to) the men who (are) keepers of the *šumar* of Hystaspes (at) Persepolis, to them (as) rations for their servants. <sup>10-15</sup> Second, third, fourth months, during a total of 3 months in the 23<sup>rd</sup> year. <sup>16-18</sup> 2 [persons] each 30 quarts; 7 [persons] each 20 quarts, total: 9 female [sic!] workmen."

<sup>18-20</sup> Hintamukka wrote, Kamezza delivered the instruction, he (Hintamukka) received the copy from Hitibel.

#### Comments

- 1 Ziššawīš' position in the administrative hierarchy was that of second-in-command after Parnakka, whom he replaced on a regular basis in supervising all operations accounted for in the PF archive (cf. Hinz 1971: 302; Hallock 1985: 589-90; Koch 1990: 227-33). His high status is confirmed by the abundant monthly allocations of grain, wine and meat he received (Koch: 1983: 45) and from the royal-name seal, PFS 0011\*, that he (or his office) used in years 19-25 (replacing the older seal PFS 0083\* which was used in years 15-18). For possible identity with Gk. Tithaios see Lewis 1985: 114-5.
- 2 Šiyatizza occurs in 17 documents, all letters from Ziššawīš dating to year 23, except two (NN 0259; NN 1280) that date to year 24. In these letters, Šiyatizza is ordered to issue grain (plausibly from a storage facility for which he held responsibility) to four distinct groups of workers. Apart from the group mentioned in NN 1700 these are: *kurtas zamišap* ('workmen z.,' meaning unknown; PF 1816-8; NN 0333; NN 0349; NN 0495), *kurtas iškuturrap* ('Skudrian workmen; PF 1819-20; PF 2069; NN 0259; NN 2078; Fort. 3566) and *kurtas appa zappan nutip* ('workmen who [are] caretakers/handlers of copper; PF 1815; NN 0948; NN 1280; NN 1368 [this interpretation of *zappa*- is not irreconcilable with that of Vallat 2002: 137-8]). A noteworthy fact is that these three groups are under the explicit responsibility of an official (Bakunda, Baraddumawīš and Tamšakama, respectively), whereas no such supervising official is mentioned for the group in NN 1700. Šiyatizza is associated with four localities: Mayamiš (PF 1816), Mandumattiš (PF 2069), Persepolis (NN 0948; NN 1700) and a

*partetaš*, called Parsaraš, at Persepolis (PF 1815; NN 1280; NN 1368). Mayamiš (if identical to Memaš) and Mandumattiš are probably smaller villages located roughly in the area between Persepolis and Shiraz (Koch 1990: 264, 277).

- 4-5 RTH corrected his initial reading <sup>AŠ</sup>Šu-ma-ir to <sup>AŠ</sup>šu-ma-ir, "evid[ently] not GN."
- 5 *nuškip*: from the root *nuški-* 'protect,' used *stricto sensu* in the royal inscriptions (*u Uramašda un nušgišni*, 'may Auramazdā protect me' = OPers. *mām Auramazdā patū*, e.g. DPh-elam. 7; cf. Vallat 1977 s.v. *nu-iš-ki-*), but in a wider sense in the Persepolis archives: 'protect, guard, keep' and 'store' (of grain for seed), hence not unlike German 'bewahren' (cf. PFT: 739; ElW s.v.). The different shades of meaning are indicated by occupational designations as *partetaš nuškip* ('tenders of a *partetaš* [a productive estate, perhaps = Gk. *παράδεισος*]), *gal nuškip* ('ration-keepers, supply-officers'), *halmariš nuškip* ('fortress-guards'), *balum nuškira* ('storekeeper, stock manager'), *basbas nuškira* ('duckherd'). It is unclear what (*šumar*) *nuškip* means: 'keepers' or, more specifically, 'guards' of a *šumar*.
- 6 <sup>HAL</sup>mi-iš-da-āš-ba: Hystaspes, cf. <sup>DIŠ</sup>mi-iš-da-āš-ba in the royal inscriptions (e.g. DB I: 3; OPers. *Vištāšpa-*, see Tavernier 2002: 336 [5.2.36]). Other occurrences of the name Hystaspes in the PF archive: PF 1596, PFa 31: 13-6, NN 1059: 32-5; NN 2097; NN 2290: 19-20, 21-2 (see § 4.5.4 below).
- 7 Šiyatizza is connected to Persepolis in four other documents: PF 1815; NN 0948; NN 1280; NN 1368.
- 7-10 *hupibe-na gal libap appini-na ap iddu*: I understand this to mean literally: 'to those people - (as) rations - of their servants - to them - issue!'
- 8-9 *libap*: 'servants,' hardly 'slaves.' As an equivalent *puhu*, lit. 'boy' (der. 'servant') is often used (see most recently Giovinnazzo 1995: 147-9; cf. § 4.2.1 below). Note that the subordinate position implied by the designation does not necessarily reveal a low social status. In Bisotūn *libar-uri* (sg., equivalent of OPers. *manā bandaka*) is used for Darius' generals and seems to denote 'my follower,' 'my vassal' rather than 'my servant' (e.g., DB-elam. II: 26; cf. Koch 1983: 20; Grillot-Susini, Herrenschildt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 47 n. 132).
- 10 *iddu*: 'issue' rather than "qu'il le(s) reçoive" as Vallat 1994: 266-7 proposed. The latter interpretation assumes *iddu* < \**in du*, deriving the form from the inanimate resumptive pronoun *in* 'it' and a bare-stem imperative from *du-* 'to receive.' The contexts in which *iddu* occurs seem to demand a meaning 'give, issue' (cf. PFT 701; ElW s.v. *id-du*); it may be an imperative from *dunu-* with a prefix that occurs frequently with this verb (in PF texts: *idduš*, *iddunuš*, *iddunušda*, *iddunuk*; Middle-Elamite: *iddunaš*, *iddunih*; see ElW s.vv. for references). In that case, *iddu* < \**idnu* < \**i(d)dunu* is feasible;

syncope of the second syllable is a well-attested phenomenon in Elamite and was probably the result of a stress accent on the first syllable (see esp. Grillot-Susini 1994: 15-6). Though admittedly speculative, this solution does fit more easily with the personal pronoun carrying dative function that often precedes *iddu* (*ap iddu*, 'to/for them issue!'). Note that other forms of *dunu-* (*dunuš*, *dunušda*) are regularly preceded by such pronouns while forms of *du-* (*duš*, *dušda*) are not: I could not find a single case of *\*\*ap duš(da)* or *\*\*ap duka* against almost 500 cases of *ap dunuš(da)* and *ap dunuka*.

Establishing the precise nature of the prefix in *iddu* is difficult: it may be *in*, as Vallat argues, but it could also be *(h)i* with a function parallel to *ha*, "a general oblique resumptive pronoun, referring to substantives of any gender and number, and indicating not only 'in, at it' but also 'to, for, with it'" (Stolper [forthcoming 1]: 77). Forms like *iddu* and *iddunuka* would, in the latter case, be parallel to *hi dunuka* and *hi dunušda*. In fact, *hi du-* and *id-du-* may just be two graphic conventions for representing the same [*idu-*] or perhaps better [*idu*] (if the initial accent resulted in a lengthening of the vowel; cf. Grillot-Susini *loc.cit.*). The spelling *i-du* does indeed occur twice (PF 1836; NN 0761), in letters from Irtašduna (Artystone). These and other letters from Irtašduna show that her secretary regularly deviated from normal orthography, however; *i-du* is therefore not a morphologically meaningful variant (*pace* Vallat 1994: 266) and, given the above considerations, a derivation from *dunu-* (not *du-*) seems preferable in this case too.

- 11-3 The period of 3 months is unique in the letters addressed to Šiyatizza: elsewhere grain is ordered for one month only (cf. below ad NN 1848: 14-8).
- 15 23: year restored by RTH from PF 1815-1820. In theory, year 24 is possible as well (cf. above ad 1-2).
- 16-7 Both lines are fragmentary; *un-ra* seems unlikely, <sup>HAL</sup>LÚ is possible. Although various other groups with 2+7 individuals are known, the ration lists clearly show that these are different groups (e.g., PF 0981, PF 1037; PF 1292, PF 1512).
- 18 <sup>SAL</sup>*kur-taš*: RTH reads <sup>f(sic)</sup>*kur-taš*, based on the <sup>HAL</sup>*li-ba-ip* in ll. 8-9. It cannot be excluded that <sup>SAL</sup>*kur-taš* is a specification of a general term <sup>HAL</sup>*li-ba-ip* (<sup>SAL</sup>*li-ba-ip* does not occur in the known PF corpus), but this is not a very smooth solution. Moreover, collation shows that ll. 16-7 do not seem to include the sign SAL. Thus, RTH's reading should be preferred.
- 18-20 Hintamukka, Kamezza and Hitibel all belonged to Ziššawiš' staff and they occur in the majority of the 52 letters from Ziššawiš that are presently known. It should be stressed that the translation of the subscript is tentative: even though there is some agreement on the general meaning of *battikamaš* and *dumme*, the three steps in the administrative protocol indicated here, still cannot be defined exactly. Vallat 1994: 267-70 offers the most significant

discussion thus far (also commenting on earlier interpretations in PFT: 51-2, by Hinz 1971: 308-11 and Lewis 1977: 10 n. 38). According to Vallat's reconstruction, the *dumme* was the Aramaic copy of an Aramaic letter-order with a sealed clay bulla (*halmi*) attached to it. The role of the writer, *i.e.* Hintamukka, was that of a scribe-archivist who rendered the Aramaic copy in Elamite, bound the tablet with a string to the parchment document and stored it in the Persepolis archive. This analysis finds support in several important arguments, but a major disadvantage is that it reduces the Elamite clay tablets to copies of copies. It is hard to see why one would have taken the trouble to produce them at all since they would *not* have constituted an independent source against which the Aramaic documentation could be checked. In addition to this, the lucid notions on sealing and storage of tablets presented in Vallat 1997 (tablets suspended by strings from sticks, with the principal sealing visible as a kind of keyword), seem, from a purely practical point of view, to be irreconcilable with the idea of binding parchments documents to the Elamite tablets.

I have avoided the usual translation for *battikamaš*, 'message' as it could give the impression of an orally communicated order which is hardly likely given the complex nature of many of the operations. For *battikamaš* (a loanword from OPers. *\*patigāma-*, cf. Aram. *ptgm*) see PFT: 51, 743; Hinz 1975: 186; Tavernier 2002: 655 [8.4.3.13]. The term *dumme* is variously interpreted as either 'instructions' *viz.* 'order, report' (PFT: 51; Hinz 1971: 310; Lewis 1977: 10 n. 38) or 'copy, duplicate, draft' (Stolper 1984a: 305 n. 17 followed by EIw s.v., Vallat 1994 and throughout the present study).

NN 1848 (Fort. 7059); seal: PFS 0011\* (left edge); box: 1081  
transliteration by R.T. Hallock

- 1 <sup>DIS</sup>*pir-ra-tamš<sup>1</sup>-u[k-ka<sub>4</sub> tu<sub>4</sub>-ru-iš]*
  - 2 <sup>DIS</sup>*zī-iš-šā-ū-iš na-an KI+MIN<sup>1</sup>*
  - 3 <sup>ZID.DA</sup><sup>MES</sup>*ap-pa<sup>1</sup> [h]u-ud-du<sup>1</sup>-*
  - 4 <sup>KI+MIN-ik-ka<sup>1</sup>-ma[r i] pi-</sup>
  - 5 <sup>rák-ka<sub>4</sub></sup> <sup>AS</sup>*ū-zī<sup>1</sup>-ik-ráš*
  - 6 <sup>ZID.DA</sup><sup>MES</sup>*hu-be<sup>1</sup>-ik-ka<sub>4</sub>-ma[r]*
  - 7 3 ME 13 <sup>BAR</sup><sup>MES</sup>*ZID.DA<sup>MES</sup> [ø]*
  - 8 <sup>HAL</sup>*li<sup>1</sup>-ip-te ku<sup>1</sup>-ti-ip [ø]*
  - 9 <sup>HAL</sup>*ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-be* <sup>AS</sup>*šu<sup>1</sup>-ma-ir[(-x)]*
  - 10 <sup>HAL</sup>*nu-iš-ki-ip hal-m[<sup>HAL</sup>i]*
- lower edge
- 11 *mar-da-āš-ba-na* <sup>AS</sup>*ba<sup>1</sup>-*



- 12 *ir-šá-iš*<sup>HAL</sup> *hu-pi-be-*  
reverse  
13 *na gal*<sup>HAL</sup> *li-ba<sup>1</sup>-ip* *ra<sup>1</sup>-*  
14 *pi-ni ap* *id<sup>1</sup>-du*<sup>ANITI<sup>MES</sup></sup>  
15 *ha-ši-ia-<sup>ra</sup>ti-iš a-ak<sup>1</sup>*  
16 *ha-na-ma-<sup>ra</sup>ak<sup>1</sup>-[kaš]* KI+MIN  
17 *sa-mi-<sup>ra</sup>ia-maš-ma<sup>1</sup>* PAP 3 <sup>ANITI<sup>MES</sup></sup>  
18 *ha-tu-ma<sup>AS</sup> be-ul 22-<sup>ra</sup>me<sup>1</sup>-ma*  
19 35 *li-ba-ip* *un-ra<sup>1</sup>*  
20 3 *du-man-ba<sup>1</sup>*  
21 *hi-<sup>ra</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-tam<sup>5</sup>-<sup>ra</sup>uk-ka<sup>4</sup> ta[l-li-iš]*  
upper edge  
22 *bat-ti-ka<sup>4</sup>-maš*<sup>HAL</sup> *ka<sup>4</sup>-me-iz-za l[i-iš]*

#### Interpretation

<sup>1-2</sup> To Pirratamka speak: Ziššawiš speaks as follows:

<sup>3-5</sup> “The flour (that) from the food supply came to the place Uzikraš,  
<sup>6-14</sup> from that flour issue 3130 quarts of flour to the ‘chamberlains’ (lit. garment-bearers), who (are) keepers of the *šumar*, (in accordance with) the sealed document by Mardašba, at Persepolis, to them (as) rations of their servants. <sup>14-18</sup> Ninth, tenth months (and) eleventh month, during a total of 3 months in the 22<sup>nd</sup> year. <sup>19-20</sup> 35 servants each are to receive 30 quarts.”

<sup>21-22</sup> Hintamukka wrote, Kamezza delivered the instruction.

#### Comments (see also ad NN 1700)

- 1 Pirratamka is mentioned in 62 texts, four of which are letters from Ziššawiš (PF 1813; NN 0939; NN 1848; NN 1870). He was the official responsible for the granary in Uzikraš where his activity is attested from VII/21 to XII/24. Most of the groups Pirratamka dealt with were travel parties on the Persepolis-Susa road. In addition, he provided grain rations for several workforces in his district, including a group of 30 to 34 *kurtaš* in year 22 (PF 0963-4; PF 1104; PF 1147; NN 2014 and possibly NN 1501; also NN 1576 and NN 2014). Though these could theoretically be identical with the group of 35 *libap*, this is not very likely: the *libap* receive undifferentiated, relatively high rations of flour, whereas the *kurtaš* get regular rations of grain differentiated according to sex and age. Pirratamka also provided grain to groups that are under the responsibility of Bakunda and Baraddumawiš, functionaries also associated with Šiyatizza (see above, ad NN 1700: 2) which may imply that Šiyatizza and Pirratamka were stationed in roughly the same area.

- 3-4 *huddu-huddu* (also *hut-hut*): from the root *hut-* ‘to make,’ hence: ‘items or commodities to make or produce [something].’ In the building inscriptions from Susa (DSf-elam. 20; DSz-elam. 19) *huthut* denotes ‘(building) materials’ (Vallat 1970: 158, ‘matériaux’). In the PF texts commodities such as grain, flour, wine and fruit are said to be used as/for (royal) *huthut*, i.e. they are reserved to be prepared for consumption (as opposed to commodities reserved for seeding, exchange or storage). A translation ‘food supply’ or, in some cases, perhaps ‘ingredients’ seems preferable over ‘stores’ (PFT, *passim*; but see PFT: 699 where ‘materials’ is proposed as well). Koch (1990: 17-8) proposes ‘Vorrat.’
- 3-5 *appa huddu-huddu-ikkamar i pirakka Uzikraš*, lit. ‘that, from the food supply, it came (to) Uzikraš.’ The same phrase occurs in PF 1813, NN 0939, NN 1870 and NN 2535 (all letters from Ziššawiš written by Hintamukka). I take *i* as a resumptive, unmarked pronoun of the inanimate class, not of the animate class (3<sup>rd</sup> person) as RTH does in his translation of PF 1813 (PFT: 496): “flour which from the (royal) stores came to him at Uzikraš” (my italics). In this translation ‘him’ would have to refer to the addressee. Yet, when addressed directly the addressee is always invoked as *nu* ‘you’ (e.g., the letters PF 1792, PF 1849-51, PF 1858, PF 1860, PF 2070, NN 1018, NN 1399, etc.). A phrase from a letter by Parnakka (NN 2057) is instructive: *appukana ZID.DA<sup>MES</sup> nun parinak*, ‘previously, flour came to you ...’
- 5 Uzikraš (also Uzikurraš): an important station along the Persepolis-Susa road, probably close to, and northeast of, Persepolis (Koch 1986: 136; *idem* 1990: 152-3, 413). See Sumner 1986: 25 for possible sites. For references see Vallat 1993: 303.
- 7 The number of 3130 quarts of flour is not in accordance with the calculation in ll. 19-20; based on that calculation 3150 quarts are expected (RTH). The reason for the difference may be an error, but it is equally possible that one of the 35 servants did not receive rations for 20 days during one month. Such small shifts are often not specified in the ration list. The number of 3130 may therefore be correct and have an independent authority, i.e. the document on which NN 1848 was based (I owe this idea to Charles Jones).
- 8 <sup>HAL</sup> *li<sup>1</sup>-ip<sup>ra</sup>te ku<sup>1</sup>-ti-ip*: LI has an extra horizontal wedge, but this reading (not LA) is confirmed by <sup>HAL</sup> *li-ba-ip* in l. 19 that has the same variation of LI (cf. RTH’s marginalia). For the interpretation of *lipte kutip* as ‘chamberlains,’ see below § 4.1.2.
- 9 RTH initially read *ba<sup>2</sup>-ma-ir*, but glossed this as “presumably ŠU<sup>1</sup>”; see especially NN 1700.” Collation shows that both ŠU and BA are possible; the parallel with NN 1700 is convincing, however.
- 10 *halmi*: either ‘seal,’ or (as in this case) ‘sealed document.’ The document referred to is an authorised letter-order, in Elamite or Aramaic, that probably



- of Darius. See Hinz 1971: 301-3; Lewis 1977: 7-11; Hallock 1985: 589-92; Koch 1990: 224-31 and *passim*; HEP: 437-8, 481-6, 921, 964.
- 3-4 Bakabadda: there are various individuals by this name and it is often hard to distinguish between them. It is virtually certain that the Bakabadda of NN 2174, Fort. 2512 (below) and PF 1854 is one and the same person: all three texts document the receipt of small cattle by B. provided/supervised by Harrena (cf. below § 4.5.2). It is uncertain whether the small cattle is intended as personal rations (Fort. 2512 does not necessarily imply this; see below ad Fort. 2512: 12), so this does not reveal much about this Bakabadda's rank. Furthermore, there is a Bakabadda who supplies grain and receives fruit in deposito in Narezzaš in the 19<sup>th</sup> year (PF 0962; PF 2018: 25-6[?]) and who may be the same man as our Bakabadda. There are several more Bakabaddas that could be considered, but most of them are travelling around, which does not seem to fit the Bakabadda in this text. Thus, the 'judge' (*dattibara*) of Parnakka (PF 1272; see HEP: 483), who may be identical to the Bakabadda who is 'Parnakka's brother' (*Parnakka igiri*, NN 0770; see EIW s.v. *i-gi-ri*), is probably travelling in Elam (both texts mention a *halmi* by Parnakka; seal PFS 0040 points to Elam). Another (?) Bakabadda receives high rations of flour and wine (PF 0829; PF 1438; PF 1562; NN 0922), but he is travelling too. An interesting case is provided by NN 2240, a document recording the allotment of 9405 (!) quarts of wine to Bakabadda and Miramanna 'ordered (for) the *ziyan* (<sup>AS</sup>*zi-ia-an*, 'sanctuary, temple,' pace Lecoq 1995) (at) Hakurtiš.' Again, there is no substantial evidence that this is the Bakabadda mentioned in NN 2174, but Hakurtiš/-artiš was probably not far from Narezzaš (Koch 1990: 264-6). In NN 2337: 1-2 a Bakabadda *šatin* ('priest') received 900 quarts of grain as *gal* ('ration, offering') for the goddess Išpandaramattiš (cf. Av. Spenta Ārmaiti [spoken Spenta Aramati], see Razmjou 2001: esp. 11-4) and other gods. The place mentioned in the text, Bamašdumana, may again not have been very far from Narezzaš (so Koch 1990: 109, 277, 288, cf. 274).
- 4 <sup>HAL</sup><sub>1</sub>[ak<sup>2</sup>-k]a<sup>4</sup>?ia<sup>2</sup>-[še<sup>2</sup> (...)] restored by RTH on the basis of Fort. 2512: 5-7 (below), which indeed provides a strong argument for the restoration. As RTH indicates, however, a second personal name is possible as well; a logical candidate would be Pimena who occurs with Bakabadda as recipient of 24 head of small cattle in PF 1854 and in connection with the place Narezzaš in PF 0302 (on this see below § 4.5.2). *Akkayaše*, from OPers. \**haxāya-šai*, 'his helper, companion' (Hinz 1975: 111; Tavernier 2002: 692 [8.4.23.64]), denotes, in the PF texts, a person of equal rank (cf. PFT: 665).
- 5 The line is badly damaged; the signs read by RTH all seem possible, but are not particularly helpful in making sense of the line.

- 7 The woman Upanduš does not occur elsewhere in the known PF corpus. On the name, see § 4.5.3 below.
- 8 Narezzaš: an important town, identified with modern Nīrīz in southeastern Fārs by Cameron (1948: 166) on the basis of the resemblance of the name and the ancient evidence of iron industry in Narezzaš (PT 52) consistent with the presence of iron mines in the area of Nīrīz (cf. Stein 1936: 204, 206; Bosworth 1993). The identification was accepted by Hallock PFT: 737; 1985: 596, Sumner 1986: 19, Koch 1990: 267 and others. See Koch 1990: 86-7; Vallat 1993: 195-6; Tavernier 2002: 639 [8.3.130] for occurrences.
- 8-18 The provision of small cattle for more than one month is rare in the PF archive. The majority of cases either refers to a monthly provision of small cattle to higher officials and members of the elite (PF 0678 [2 months]; PF 0824-5 [2]; PF 0957 [9]; PF 1790 [19]; NN 0644 [3]; NN 2259: 19-20 [11 or 12]; NN 2515 [15]; Fribourg A [6]) or to large groups of workers receiving modest portions of meat (PF 1791 [5 months]; PF 1794 [3], NN 0727 [3]; NN 1847 [3]). The case of NN 2147 fits neither scenario; the same holds true only for NN 2259: 7-8 where 30 head are provided for a *lan*-sacrifice during 1'2' months (cf. § 4.3.2 below).
- 20 *Hupibe-na*: this is a demonstrative pronoun of the animate class and it may therefore refer to Bakabadda *cum suis* (even though they were mentioned 16 ll. earlier). This is supported by Fort. 2512 (below). It should be noted, though, that the way the calculation is formulated does suggest that the number of 24 head of small cattle during twelve months is, in the first place, related to the *šumar* of two individuals, Cambyzes and Upanduš, not to the two persons (if *Bakabadda ak akkayaše* means two individuals). In the translation by the EIW (s.v. *h.šu-ma-ir*) the matter remains unresolved: "[für den Schafstall(?) des Kambyzes und [Frau] Hubanduš – ihnen [steht] jedem Monat ein Stück Kleinvieh [zu]."
- 23 Nanitin: a member of Parnakka's staff (sometimes also employed by Ziššawiš). See Koch 1990: 230.

Fort. 2512; seal : PFS 0009\* (right & left edges); ex-box: 0539~04  
transliteration by G.G. Cameron, collated by R.T. Hallock

- 1 Diš<sub>1</sub> har-ri-e-na  
2 Diš<sub>1</sub> gi-sa-bat-ti-iš  
3 tu<sub>4</sub>-ru-iš<sup>HAL</sup> p<sub>4</sub>r-na-ak-  
4 ka<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> na-an KI+MIN 2 UDU.«MEŠ»  
5 NITA<sup>MEŠ</sup> HAL<sup>HAL</sup> ba-ka<sub>4</sub>-ba-ad-  
6 da a-ak<sup>HAL</sup> ak-ka<sub>4</sub>-ia-še

- 7 *ak-ka-be* <sup>AS</sup>*šu-ma-ir(-)*  
 lower edge  
 8 [(x)] <sup>HAL</sup>*zi-šu-in-du-iš-*  
 reverse  
 9 [*ik*<sup>2</sup>]-<sup>r</sup>*ka*<sup>1</sup>*nu-iš-gi-man-pi*  
 10 <sup>AS</sup>*na-ri-e*<sup>1</sup>*-iz-zi-iš*  
 11 *hu-pi-be ap id-du*  
 12 <sup>r</sup>*gal*<sup>1</sup>-*ma* <sup>AS</sup>*be-ul* 20-*um-*  
 13 *me-na* <sup>HAL</sup>*rak-ma*<sup>1</sup>-*[zi]-ia*  
 14 *tal-li-iš-da du-um-me*  
 15 <sup>HAL</sup>*na-ni*<sup>1</sup>-*tin-ik-ka-mar*  
 16 *du-iš-da* <sup>AS</sup>*be-ul* 20-  
 upper edge  
 17 *um-me-na* <sup>AN</sup><sub>ITI</sub> <sup>MEŠ</sup> <sup>AN</sup>*mi-kán-*  
 18 *na-iš-na*<sup>1</sup>

#### Interpretation

<sup>1-4</sup> To Harrena the cattle-chief speak, Parnakka speaks as follows:

<sup>4-13</sup> "Issue 2 head of small cattle to Bakabadda *cum suis*, who are to keep/guard the *šumar* (of) Zišunduš at Narezzaš, as rations/offerings of/in the 20<sup>th</sup> year."

<sup>13-16</sup> Takmaziya wrote, he received the copy from Nanitin. <sup>16-18</sup> 20<sup>th</sup> year, twelfth month.

#### Commentary (see also ad NN 1700, NN 1848 and NN 2174)

- 8 The traces of the first sign (possibly otiose) suggest UM, BI, PA, HA, or even EŠŠANA, not NA or MA as GGC proposes. Zišunduš is otherwise unknown (see § 4.5.5).
- 12 In this case (contrary to NN 1700: 8 and NN 1848: 13) the meaning 'ration' for *gal* is not quite certain. The text does not explicitly state that the small cattle 'of/in for the 20<sup>th</sup> year' is the *total* for that year, but such is indeed the most likely solution (see below § 4.3.2). As a personal ration of two head of small cattle (for at least two individuals) would be very modest compared with rations of other individuals (not groups) who receive at least one head monthly (see, e.g., NN 0957, NN 0644; NN 2515), sometimes even daily (PF 0654, NN 0812). Even a group of middle-rank female leaders of a *pašap*-workforce receives four head a year (PF 1790). Considering these arguments, an alternative translation for *gal*, '(religious) offering' (i.e. a food ration for the gods) is certainly worth considering here; the word carries this meaning in the royal inscriptions DSf-elam. 17 and DSz-elam. 15 (an

offering for Auramazdā) and in *ca.* 40 PF texts (offerings for various gods and sacrifices; cf. below § 4.3.3).

- 13 <sup>HAL</sup>*rak-ma*<sup>1</sup>-*[zi]-ia*: the restoration is supported by e.g. PF 1806-7. Takmaziya worked as a scribe on Parnakka's staff.

### 3. The etymology of *šumar*

3.1. *Šumar* and *Šumira* – The *Elamisches Wörterbuch* by Hinz and Koch provides a tentative interpretation for *šumar*: "Schafstall (?)", explaining the *šumar nuškip* in NN 1700 as "Schafstallhüter (pl.) (?)". (EIW s.vv. *h.šu-ma-ir*, *h.šu-ma-ir.hh.nu-iš-ki-ip*). The geographical name Šumarakši (also Šumarakše), that may indeed be related (see below § 5.1), is interpreted as "Schafstall-Leitung (?)". (EIW s.v. *h.šu-ma-ir.ak-ši*). No other interpretations for *šumar* and related forms have so far been suggested.

The EIW does not offer an etymology of *šumar* and it would appear that the tentative interpretation is based solely on NN 2174 and Fort. 2512, even though those texts do not speak of small cattle *in* the *šumar* but delivered *to* it, or *to* the people acting as its keepers. Thus, NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 can hardly account for the interpretation 'Schafstall,' whereas small cattle is not even mentioned in the other two texts. Now, *šumar* would not be the first lemma in the EIW where an interpretation is based on an assumed etymology even though the argument itself is not disclosed in the dictionary. In the case of *šumar* the implicit argument seems to rest on the etymology of the personal name <sup>HAL</sup>*šu-mi-ra*.<sup>4</sup> Mayrhofer, in his *Onomastica Persepolitana*, suggested Old Persian \**fšu-vīra*-, "Vieh und Leute besitzend," comparing this name with the well-known Avestan couple *pasu vīra* (1973: 236 [8.1582]). Avestan *pasu-* (*fšu-* in compounds) denotes especially small cattle (Bartholomae 1904 s.v. *pasu-*), as does the modern Persian root *šab-* (e.g., in *šabān* 'shepherd,' see e.g. Junker & Alavi 1947 s.v.). Mayrhofer's interpretation of the name *Šumira* has been accepted by Hinz, the EIW, and recently by Tavernier.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The name has five occurrences in the known Fortification corpus: PF 0315; PF 1696; NN 1232; Fort. 2510; Fort. 7253.

<sup>5</sup> Hinz 1975: 100; EIW s.v. *hh.šu-mi-ra*; Tavernier 2002: 465 [8.2.594]. *Šumira* provides the only case of Old-Iranian /fš/- rendered šV in Elamite (against -fš/- > Vp-sV), but compare Old-Iranian /xš/- rendered frequently as šV- (see Tavernier 2002: 239, 243). The /f/- in \**fšu-* may have been weak; in later Iranian it disappeared completely (NP *šabān*, etc., see above).

3.2. *Not a 'Schafstall'* – The etymology of the name Šumira is not challenged here, but its relevance for šumar is. An etymology for šumar based on Iranian fšu- seems unlikely.

Given the context in which šumar occurs and the fact that it is preceded by the determinative AŠ (for a locale or, sometimes a concrete object like <sup>AS</sup>hal-mi, 'sealed document'), the word must be taken as a noun. When an Elamite scribe introduced an Old Persian loanword in his documents, he generally had two options with regard to the word final. The first of these was to use the OPers. nominative form (<sup>HAL</sup>ma-ku-iš = maguš, ba-zī-iš = bājiš, <sup>AS</sup>da-za-ra = tačara). The second method was to supplement the Old Persian word with -š or -m, both used as specific markers of OPers. loanwords (sometimes, as with the consonant stems, contradicting OPers. morphology).<sup>6</sup>

If šumar were derived from a masculine or feminine OPers. *r*-stem, it would have been transcribed as either \*šumara or \*šumaraš/am. The only likely explanation of šumar from Old Persian would be a neuter *r*-stem (like, e.g., Av. *θanvar* 'bow'), borrowed in the nom./acc. case. If the implicit assumption of the EIW is correct, the OPers. form would have been \*fšumar or \*fšuvar. It would not be easy, though, to explain such a form from fšu- 'small cattle,' for Old Persian does not seem to have had a suffix ending in -r that would be helpful here. The suffix -tar can be excluded, and -ra (\*fšu-ra) would have given \*šura (hardly šumara) in Elamite (cf. OPers. *tig-ra* > Elam. *ti-ig-ra*; Kent 1953: 51 [§ 148]). If šumar represents an Old Persian loanword, a root noun on -r seems to be the only option, which virtually excludes a derivation from OPers. \*fšu-.

Incidentally, it should be noted that in other Iranian languages words for 'sheepfold' and 'sheep house' show different formations (Av. *pasuvastra*-, *pasušhasta*-, MoPers. *šabgāh*, *šabāngāh*). In the PF archive no cognates of these words appear, but there is indeed a term by which sheepfolds seem to be referred to. This word is not šumar but *baribataš*, from OPers. \**paribāda*-, 'protective enclosure'.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See the elaborate discussion on the Elamite (non-)transcription of OPers. morphology in Tavernier 2002: 311-318 (see also Mayrhofer 1973: 117-118). Sometimes other case-forms than the nominative were transcribed from Old Persian, but this occurred very infrequently and the practice seems to have been confined to the Elamite versions of the (generally more precise) royal inscriptions. In any case it would not help to explain the word šumar. Loss of the final vowel is rare in Elamite transcription (Tavernier o.c. 309-11) and probably confined to vernacular terms and names; the consistent spelling šu-ma-ir does, moreover, not suggest an original \*\*šumara. Moreover, the latter form would be just as inexplicable from OPers. fšu- as šumar is (see below).

<sup>7</sup> PF 2025: 8-9, 15; PF 2070: 4, 11, 13; NN 2465; see Gershevitch in PFT: 675.

#### 4. Contextual clues on the meaning of šumar

The (implicit) etymology needed to make a 'sheepfold' out of a šumar cannot be defended easily. Also, as stated above, NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 speak only of small cattle delivered to (keepers of) a šumar. NN 1700 and NN 1843 do not mention small cattle at all. This seriously weakens the case for a 'sheepfold.'

The contents of the four relevant texts supply several more arguments contradicting the interpretation 'sheepfold' and at the same time give various clues on the meaning of the word šumar. These arguments are: the status of the *lipte kutip* (§ 4.1), the occurrence *libap*, 'servants' (§ 4.2), the period in which the commodities are issued (§ 4.3), the use of letter-orders and the involvement of Parnakka and Ziššawiš (§ 4.4), and the names Cambyses, Upanduš and Hystaspes (§ 4.5).

##### 4.1. The status of the *lipte kutip*

4.1.1. *Lipte kuktira and vačabara* – NN 1848 is a letter-order about flour to be issued to *lipte kutip akkabe šumar nuškip*, 'lipte-bearers who (are) keepers of the šumar.' The designation *lipte kuktira* (sg.)<sup>8</sup> is also known from Darius' tomb inscription DNd-elam.:

Diš āš-ba-za-na li-ip-te ku-ik-ti-ra Diš da-ri-ia-[ma-] [u-iš]

Diš EŠŠANA ap-te-e mar-ri-iš

'Aspacanā (Aspathines), lipte-bearer, holds Darius the king's bow-and-arrow case.'

The Old Persian version has *vačabara* (v-č-b-r) for *lipte kuktira* (the Akkadian word is not preserved).<sup>9</sup> The title *vačabara* is also known from contemporary

<sup>8</sup> The variation between Achaemenid Elamite *ku-ik-ti-ra* and *ku-ti-ra* (sg.) and between *ku-uk-ti-ip* and *ku-ti-ip* (pl.) may be explained by assuming that *kuktira* is a hypercoristic form based on confusion of the verbal roots *kuti*- ('carry, transport') and *kukti*- ('protect'). The latter is amply attested in royal Achaemenid Elamite: *ku-uk-da-ak*, *ku-uk-da-in-da*, *ku-uk-tan-ti*, *ku-uk-taš* and *ku-uk-ti* (see EIW s.vv.). The anomalous phenomenon of Elamite -uk- denoting OPers. /u/ (as in *uk-ba*- for *upa*- and <sup>HAL</sup>šā-ru-ik-ba, <sup>HAL</sup>šā-ru-uk-ba for \**Sārōpā*-; see Mayrhofer 1973: 57 [2.425]; Tavernier 2002: 572) does not seem of relevance here, as *kutira/kuktira* is not an Iranian loanword.

<sup>9</sup> For the Old Persian text (with a photograph of the inscription) see Schmitt 2000: 46; Elamite version after Weißbach 1911: 96 (with minor changes); Akkadian version: Borger 1972: 389.

Babylonian documents as *ustarbaru*. A *lipte kutira* appears several times more in the PF archive. In order to keep the line of argumentation as clear as possible, these two sources are treated in a separate appendix (see p. 162 below) and only the conclusions are repeated here. But first, some attention needs to be paid to the meaning of *vaçabara*, *ustarbaru* and *lipte kutira*.

4.1.2. *A garment bearer* – Although ‘bow-bearer’ and ‘weapon-bearer’ keep surfacing even in recent literature, there can hardly be any doubt that ‘garment-bearer’ is the correct interpretation of *vaçabara*, *ustarbaru* and *lipte kutira*. Aspathines, on the Naqš-e Rostam relief, holds a ceremonial axe or hammer<sup>10</sup> and a bow-and-arrow case (or *gorytos*), attributes which prompted ‘bowbearer,’ ‘Streitkolbenträger,’ ‘[Streit]hammerträger,’ and ‘battle-axe bearer.’<sup>11</sup> ‘Bow-bearer’ for *lipte kuktira* was shown to be wrong by Borger, whose study (1972) proved beyond doubt that the second part of DNd, *apte marriš*, means ‘he holds his bow-and-arrow case.’<sup>12</sup> As for the other interpretations: it appears clearly from the Acropole texts from late Neo-Elamite Susa that *lipte* is used as an overall term for a variety of objects, excluding a specific meaning like ‘axe’ or ‘hammer.’<sup>13</sup> Hinz’ interpretation ‘Gewand’ is in line with the contention that many of the words in the Susa archive denote textile products, techniques or colors. Moreover, Hinz found a suitable etymology for the Old Persian counterpart, *\*vaça-*, i.e. Avestan *vastra-* ‘garment, clothing.’<sup>14</sup> In theory, *lipte* might alternatively be interpreted as ‘weapon, armoury’ given the (partial)

<sup>10</sup> The relief is damaged, but the device is clearly visible on the other tombs, esp. II and III, where an identical ‘Aspathines’ appears (cf. 4.1.7.1 below).

<sup>11</sup> Bowbearer: Kent 1945: 233; Hallock PFT: 721. Streitkolbenträger: Weißbach 1911: 97; Eilers 1969: 29-31. [Streit]hammerträger: Foy 1901: 514. Battle-axe bearer: Gershevitch 1962: 78-9 with n. 8 (cf. Szemerényi 1975: 351-2 with more literature).

<sup>12</sup> Borger 2000 discusses this type of container in great detail, though, unfortunately, the evidence on Neo-Elamite *apti* is not included.

<sup>13</sup> The archive was published by Scheil 1907; 1911: no. 309; see esp. MDP 9 175; also: MDP 9 73 and 264. Incidentally, Elamite *lipte* might be related to Akk. *labāšu* ‘to clothe o.s.,’ *lubšu* ‘clothing,’ etc. with an added *-t* (as in *hala.t* ‘mud brick’) for the Elamite inanimate class. It is also conceivable that *-te* in *lipte* is an early case of the Achaemenid Elamite suffix *-ta/-te* that indicates generality (see Stolper [forthcoming 1]: 74): *\*libište* > *lipte* with syncope of the second syllable (cf. ad NN 1700: 10 above).

<sup>14</sup> Hinz 1973: 57-9, following G. Hüsing’s ‘Kleidträger’ [1918: 129-131]; Tavernier 2002: 700 [8.4.23.118]. Note the divergent developments *\*vastra-* > *\*vasça-* > *vaça-* against *\*uštra-* > *\*ušça-* > *uša-* (‘camel,’ see Kent 1953: 31) in Old Persian. The difference of *s* : *š* in the original consonant clusters *-str-* and *-štr-* of *\*vastra-* and *\*uštra-* may lie at the basis of this variation (suggestion by Robert Beekes, pers. comm.).

uncertainty on the textile vocabulary and the fact that the Susa archive also records the production and exchange of a variety of arms. This would require a different etymology for *vaça-*, e.g., Avestan *vaðar-*, ‘weapon.’ Such a solution is highly unlikely, however, in view of *ustarbaru*, the late-Babylonian rendition of *vaçabara*, which clearly reflects *\*vastra-bara-* (not *\*\*vadar-bara-*)<sup>15</sup> and thus lends conclusive support to Hinz’ theory that Aspathines is a ‘garment-bearer.’ Note that this title, as it is used in DNd, does *not* refer to either of the weapons held by Aspathines (cf. below § 4.1.7.1).

4.1.3. *Court titles in DNe and DNd* – That ‘garment-bearer of king Darius’ was a prestigious title may be deduced from the fact that its holder, Aspacanā/Aspathines, belonged to the highest ranks of the Persian nobility (Hdt. III.70). Otanes, initiator of the plot against ‘pseudo-Smerdis,’ selected Aspathines and Gobryas as his first two fellow-conspirators (*ibid.*; HEP: 107-8; 111-3). Precisely these two Persians were depicted and described on Darius’ tomb, that highly conscious articulation of Persian royal ideology, underlining their supreme status. Furthermore, the importance of the title ‘garment-bearer of king Darius’ appears from comparison with the parallel inscription DNe-elam.:<sup>16</sup>

DIŠkam-bar-ma DIŠba-ut-ti-iš-mar-ri-iš DIŠda-ri-ia-ma-  
u-iš DIŠEŠŠANA-na GIŠsi-ru-um ku-ik-ti-ra

‘Gaubaruva (Gobryas) the Patishorian, lance-bearer of king Darius.’

Note the differences in the two inscriptions: whereas Gobryas is a ‘Patishorian,’ an elite tribal or generic designation (Strabo XV.2.1., cf. Briant 1990: 83-4), Aspathines does not apparently carry this type of title and is labelled *lipte kuktira* instead. The parallelism of the elite ‘clan title’ and the court title once more suggests the high status attached to the latter.

Another point of interest in DNe-d is the titulature in the second part of the inscriptions: Gobryas is the ‘lance-bearer,’ while Aspathines ‘holds the bow-and-arrow case’ of king Darius. The latter is not a mere descriptive caption for the accompanying image but the result of stylistic *variatio*: after *lipte kuktira* another title with *kuktira* (i.e. *apti kuktira*) would have had a rather clumsy effect. The parallel with the second part of DNe does suggest, though, that a title was intended. Moreover, an *apti kutira*, ‘bow-and-arrow case carrier’

<sup>15</sup> *\*vastra-bara-* (*ustarbaru*) may be the ‘Median’ or older form of OPers. *vaçabara* (see Hinz l.c.; Tavernier l.c.); cf. n. 14 above.

<sup>16</sup> Weißbach 1911: 96; cf. Schmitt 2000: 45.

is actually attested in the PF archive (PF 1560).<sup>17</sup> Thus, leaving aside 'Patischorian,' DNe-d in fact mention three titles: 'lance-bearer,' 'garment/weapon-bearer' and 'bow-and-arrow case carrier.' It has been recognised before that these designations are probably not expressions of actual duties, but, given the status of Gobryas and Aspathines, honorary titles bestowed on privileged court officials, possibly implying some ceremonial obligations (cf. HEP: 112). From this perspective *lipte kukira* (*vaçabara*) should not be taken too literally ('garment-bearer'), but be interpreted as 'chamberlain.'

4.1.4. *Achaemenid court titles* – The Achaemenid kings granted a variety of court titles to (young) members of the Persian nobility. Greek sources document that Cyrus was 'master of the wand-bearers,' then 'master of the squires' at Astyages' court. Cyrus is also claimed to have been royal 'cup-bearer' at the Median court, as was Prexaspes' son to Cambyses. Darius I had been 'quiver-bearer' to Cyrus and 'lance-bearer' to Cambyses; Darius III had been a 'letter-bearer'.<sup>18</sup> It is evident that holders of these palatial titles did not really engage in the duties implied by these titles, except, perhaps, at ceremonial occasions. The same is likely to be true for the position of royal chamberlain (*κατακοιμιστής*) mentioned in the Greek sources.<sup>19</sup> As Pierre Briant argues, it can be demonstrated that some of these 'chamberlains' were from noble families and held influential positions at the court; they will hardly have been involved in putting the king to bed.<sup>20</sup> The PF archive confirms, to some extent, this image:

<sup>17</sup> The official designated as such, Aššašturrana, can be classified as a high-ranking official on the basis of the allowance of wine issued to him (Koch 1983: 44); cf. below n. 22.

<sup>18</sup> Cyrus as wand-bearer, ῥαβδοφόρος: Ath. XIV.633d; as squire, ὀπλοφόρος: *ibid.*; as cup-bearer, οἰνοχόος: Nic.Dam. FGrH 90 F 66: 5-7; cf. Xen. Cyr. I.3.8-9. Prexaspes' son: Hdt. III.34. Darius I as quiver-bearer, φαετροφόρος: Ael. VH XII.43; as lance-bearer, δορυφόρος: Hdt. III.139. Darius III as letter-bearer, ἀσπάνδης: Plut. Alex. 18.7. See HEP: 124-5, 275, 322-4, 642, 791-2, 945 on the court titles and their usage.

<sup>19</sup> It is not claimed here that Greek κατακοιμιστής can be equated with *vaçabara*/*lipte kukira*. Although both titles are rendered 'chamberlain' in this paper, they have a different literal meaning. The identification may be attractive, but I fail to see any formal basis for it (nor any conclusive arguments against it). Note also that according to Curtius the 'spearbearers' took care of the king's wardrobe (*doryphoroe ... soliti vestem excipere regalem*, Curt. III.3.15). The doryphoroi being the king's prime elite corps, it may well be that some of them had the title 'garment-bearer' ('chamberlain') and that Curtius mistakenly took this as a proper title. On the passage see also Briant 1990: 102 n. 58; HEP: 273.

<sup>20</sup> See HEP: 285-8 on the Greek confusion on court title vs. actual function and on the so-called 'eunuchs' (many of whom may actually have been high-ranking court-officials).

the large rations issued to a 'chair-' or 'footstool-carrier'<sup>21</sup> and to a 'bow-and-arrow case carrier'<sup>22</sup> indicate the high rank of these officials. Two occurrences of a 'cup-bearer' explicitly involve individuals of the class of 'free men' (*šalup*, cf. OPers *āmātā* in DB I: 7).<sup>23</sup> The Late-Babylonian documentation, too, provides possible cases of court titles such as the 'sword-bearers' and the 'master of the quiver'.<sup>24</sup>

It seems that the court titles used in the Achaemenid empire no longer implied the original duties, but did give access to certain advanced positions or offices. From this perspective they were honorific and proper titles at the same

<sup>21</sup> The *kadukabarra* is mentioned in PF 0830 as the recipient of 70 quarts of flour; Hinz (1973: 95) interpreted the word as \**gāṭhuka-bara*, 'Stuhlträger' thereby referring to the well-known footstool-carrier depicted on the eastern Apadana staircase relief. Compare the title of δῖφοφόρος, 'footstool-carrier' (Ath. XII.514a; see HEP: 234, 312). Interestingly, the Persian king had a privy purse of 3000 talents called βασιλικὸν ὑποπόδιον, 'royal footstool' (Ath. XII.514f., see the analysis by Briant in HEP: 484-5, 971) which may be connected to the high official holding the title 'footstool-carrier.'

<sup>22</sup> For the *apiti kutira*, 'bow-and-arrow case carrier' in PF 1560 cf. above nn. 11, 17. Note that NN 1277 records an allotment of flour 'to be used for the baking of bread that [is] of the bow-and-arrow case of the Harku-people,' perhaps comparable to the 'Queen's girdle' and 'Queen's veil' (on which see Cardascia 1991 [1995]; HEP: 475-6, 971; Stolper [forthcoming 2]). Compare also the Babylonian title *rab ummu*, perhaps 'master of the quiver' (cf. below n. 24).

<sup>23</sup> The *battišmarnabarra* occurs in PF 1011 and can plausibly be reconstructed in NN 1572 (ElW s.v. hh.bat-ti-iš-mar-na-bar-ra, confirmed by C.E. Jones in Sims-Williams 1990: 243 n. 5). The translation 'cup-bearer' (instead of 'Mundtuch-Träger' as Hinz 1973: 96 proposed) has now been verified by a new Old Persian inscription containing the word *patišuvarna-* which is translated as *kāsu*, 'cup' in the Akkadian version (see Sims-Williams 1990; repeated in *idem* 2001). The *pad(d)arakka(š)*, who occurs six times in the PF archive might be a cup-bearer as well (see Tavernier 2002: 746-7 [9.4.4.33] [add PF 1831]). The PF archive contains a multitude of Old Persian designations (conveniently gathered *ibid.* 683-702) some of which may actually be court titles as well. Based on contextual evidence (rations, position) this may be true for, *i.a.*, the *habezziya* (Hinz 1975: 18, \**abēziya* 'Bewässerer') in PF 1256, NN 0522: 13 and Fort. 6575 and the *midabakaš* (MacKenzie 1971: 609, \**vidabaga-* 'knowing the garden, horticultural expert' [?]) in PF 0789. Elamite *ripi kutira* may be an elite title too (Henkelman 2002: 22-5, 'lance-bearer[?]').

<sup>24</sup> The 'sword-bearers' are discussed by Stolper 1985: 55 n. 12, 85, 88. Stolper 2001: 106-7 proposes to interpret *rab ummu* as [master of] "the quiver or bowcase." See also *ibid.* 107-111 on the exceptional seal employed by one of the holders of this title. The title 'Foreman' (*parastamu*) "might be part of the formal protocol of the Achaemenid court" (see Stolper 1993: 10-11; *idem* 1994: 623).



time. This seems to be true for the Achaemenid 'chamberlains' as well. As indicated above, holders of this title are known from DNd, from the PF archive, and from over 40 Babylonian documents linked to the region of Nippur, Babylon and Susa. These categories each shed their own light on the status of the 'chamberlains.'

4.1.5. *The Babylonian documentation* – The information that, at the present stage of research, can be gathered from the Babylonian documentation (see p. 162 below) may be summarised as follows: the 'chamberlains' were strongly connected to the crown. Sometimes they were designated as 'royal' or as 'court official' (*ša rēš šarri*); some were managers of the estates of the Persian royalty (such as the 'chamberlain of Parysatis'). In one case a *ustarbaru* acts as 'administrator' (*mār būti*) of a Persian prince. The connection to the crown becomes also apparent through the frequent occurrences of *ustarbaru* officials as witnesses in texts pertaining to Persian royalty. In some cases the title 'chamberlain' (and the office it implied) seems to have been hereditary. The status of the *ustarbaru* officials may have varied according to their function (administrator, estate manager) and the land they held: some were involved in *ḫaṭru*-organisations, others apparently were fiefholders on the royal estates they managed and some appear to have held estates of their own, sometimes designated as 'royal grants,' that could be of considerable size. In one case there is evidence for a 'chamberlain' with a larger staff, perhaps a 'house' of his own. Confirmation of the high status of some of the *ustarbaru* officials may be gained from the case of Bagazuštu who held a large estate at Bīt-Abī-rām near Babylon, had dealings with the crown prince's estate and may be the same individual who travelled with several high-ranking Persians from Susa to Borsippa sometime during the reign of Darius I.

In 1918, Georg Hüsing had already identified the element *vaça*- 'Kleid' in *ustarbaru* and suggested that the title actually referred to "Beamten der 'Regimentskammer.'" He did so while referring to the Neo-Elamite Acropole texts from Susa (see n. 13 above), in his eyes also a 'Regimentskammer' or 'Korpshandwerkstätte' (1918: 129-131). Both Eilers (1940: 93) and Hinz (1973: 57-8) rejected his 'Regimentskammer[verwalter]' as too abstract. Hinz accepted the title as a proper designation for officials actually responsible for the maintenance of the king's wardrobe. It may very well be, however, that Hüsing's interpretation was, in fact not abstract enough: the available evidence is hardly supportive of a literal interpretation. There is indeed a close connection between *ustarbaru* officials and the Persian crown, but this relation is defined by association with royal estates or the possession of private 'royal grants.' As far as can be deduced from the available evidence, some of the officials appear to have been quite well-to-do and undoubtedly belonged to the upper ranks of the

Persian nobility (*pace* Dandamaev 1992: 52). Others were probably of somewhat lesser status, but still held high positions as administrator or estate manager of Persian princes.

4.1.6. *The Elamite documentation* – The evidence from the Babylonian sources is, to some extent, complemented by PF texts dealing with the *lipte kutira* (see p. 164 below). In PF 1256 we find a 'chamberlain' making a registry at a private estate; from other texts it appears that the 'chamberlain' involved had considerable authority and belonged to the higher ranks of the Persepolis administration. Another text (PF 1599) bears evidence to the status of *lipte kutip* as 'free men' (*šalup*).

4.1.7.1. *DNd and Aspathines* – As stated above (§§ 4.1.1, 4.1.3), the position of Aspathines the 'chamberlain' (*lipte kuktira/vačabara*) at Darius' court must have been considerable; the presence of his image on the façade of the king's tomb is the prime indication for his status alongside the claim that he belonged to the flower of Persian nobility (Hdt. III.70).

In the Persepolis Fortification and Treasury archives an Ašbazana (i.e. OPers. *Aspacanā*) occurs as well.<sup>25</sup> The texts reveal that he was authorising sealed documents (*halmi*) and sending letter-orders, attesting to Ašbazana's distinguished position.<sup>26</sup> Also, the subscripts to his letters mention not only the scribe, but various members of an administrative staff, a feature that strongly points to the 'director's office' (cf. above ad NN 1700: 18-20). This and the dates of Ašbazana's activities lead to the conclusion that Ašbazana succeeded Parnakka as principal administrator of the Persepolis economic system and was in function from at least the 28<sup>th</sup> year of Darius to the 3<sup>rd</sup> year of Xerxes.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> PF 0565; PF 0806; PF 1444; PF 1853; NN 0456; NN 1359; NN 1673; NN 1970; NN 2082; NN 2401 (all Darius 28); NN 1023; Fort. 7093 (no date); PT 12; PT 12a; PT 14 (Xerxes 3). On the basis of an impression of PTS 14\*, PT 12b and an unpublished tablet (PT 4 742) may be considered letter-orders from Ašbazana as well (see Garrison 1998: 122). The name is written <sup>HAL</sup>*dš-ba-za-na* or <sup>HAL</sup>*dš-ba-zī-na*. The <sup>HAL</sup>*dš-be-iz-za-na* ('the *anzanra*') in NN 1064 is obviously a different person, otherwise known as <sup>HAL</sup>*dš-be-iz-za* and <sup>HAL</sup>*dš-ba-az-za*.

<sup>26</sup> For the officials issuing *halmi*, cf. above ad NN 1848: 10, 11. The status of Ašbazana is confirmed by the quality of his seals, PFS 1567\* and PTS 14\*, as discussed by Garrison ("The execution of PTS 14\* stands head and shoulders above all other seals from the Treasury archive" [1998: 126]).

<sup>27</sup> Lewis 1985: 115; Koch 1990: 232-3; compare Hallock 1985: 590-1 on the subscripts. Like Hinz (1971: 305), but for different reasons, I do not believe that Irdumartiya was the first successor to Parnakka (for a short period, preceding Ašbazana). If anything,

The widely assumed identity of the Ašbazana in the PF archive and the Aspacanā/Aspathines known from DNd and Herodotus is attractive, but some caution is warranted as homonymy cannot be ruled out completely (as in the case of Parnakka/Pharnaces; see ad NN 2174: 2).<sup>28</sup> Assuming for the time being that Ašbazana/Aspacanā/Aspathines is indeed one and the same individual, his title 'chamberlain' gains weight, for it may, at least in my view, be the formal expression of his position as principal administrator. Along the lines developed by Pierre Briant we may envisage Aspathines, like his predecessor Parnakka, heading a dual administration that encompassed the general Persepolis economic system as well as the 'house' (*ulhi*) of the king *stricto sensu* (HEP: 478-86). As Briant stresses these two domains are by no means strictly separated and it may well be therefore that the office held by Parnakka and Aspathines was, in the first place, that of manager of the king's estates with their personnel and material assets, or, in other words, 'chancellor of the house of the king.' This function connects Aspathines with the estate-managing chamberlains in Achaemenid Babylonia and Susa, and the estate-controlling chamberlain-registrar in PF 1256 (see above §§ 4.1.5-6 and pp. 162ff. below).

The function of royal chancellor would certainly be in line with the explicit closeness of Aspathines and Darius as expressed by the Naqš-e Rostam inscription and relief. These sources, moreover, offer an intriguing hint as to Aspathines' position as chancellor. As we have seen, neither of Aspathines' titles (chamberlain, holder of the bow-and-arrow case of king Darius) refers to the ceremonial weapon, a sort of hammer, in his right hand (cf. n. 10 above).<sup>29</sup>

Irdumartiya rather seems to have been Parnakka's predecessor, but the image presented by the relevant texts is diffuse and requires more elaborate treatment than can be given here. Note that Koch subsequently adapted her hypothesis, making Irdumartiya the chief administrator preceding and succeeding Parnakka (1993: 62-3). Hinz (1971: 270-1) explicitly does not consider Ašbazana as a successor to Parnakka, but I fail to see the logic in his line of argumentation.

<sup>28</sup> Note that the inscription on seal PTS 14\* does not read "Aspathines son of Prexaspes" as Cameron thought, so that it no longer stands as an argument. See Jones/Garrison in Garrison 1998: 125 n. 21; Vallat 1999.

<sup>29</sup> The same weapon is depicted on the other tomb reliefs and on the audience scenes on the Persepolis reliefs and on a Daskyleion seal (AchHist XII 1: 31-40, 113-5; 2: 50-5, 165-8). The 'hammer' carried by an official (see below) on the Treasury reliefs is described by Schmidt as follows: "The grip end of the presumably wooden handle was roughened by incised parallel chevrons. The other side was inserted into the socketed axhead, made perhaps of precious metal. The weapon is double-headed. One end is modeled in the form of a bird's head from whose wide-open beak an elliptical blade protrudes. The opposite head consists of a bifurcate claw projecting from the discoid

This opens the possibility that it is not, in fact, the king's weapon, but the insignium of Aspathines' office.

Various insignia (maces, scepters or sticks) of various offices are known from the Neo-Assyrian and Achaemenid courts,<sup>30</sup> but probably the closest parallel is provided by the 20<sup>th</sup> century BC Elamite court, notwithstanding the considerable time-lapse. M. Lambert, in a thought-provoking study (1971), discussed two cases of a 'chancellor' (*teppir*) upon whom a ceremonial axe ('hache de parade') is bestowed at the occasion of his installation. The first case is that of Idaddu II: "Idaddu (II) *ensi* of Susa ... has given (this seal) to Kuk-Simut the scribe/chancellor, his beloved servant."<sup>31</sup> The seal image shows the king seated on his throne, handing over the ceremonial axe to his servant. The second case is that of an axe with inscription stating that it was a gift from Atta-hušu to Ibni-Adad; the latter is known to have been an individual of considerable status who held the position of scribe/chancellor to Atta-hušu, the prince of Susa.<sup>32</sup> From later periods no comparable cases are known, but there

end of an expanding cylinder" (1953: 165, pl. 121; cf. pls. 96-9). An actual – but more modestly executed – example of what Schmidt calls a 'battle-axe' was found in a Throne Hall portico (Schmidt 1957: 100, pls. 78-9). This kind of weapon is also carried by the 17<sup>th</sup> delegation (Sogdians?) on the Apadana staircase reliefs (*idem* 1953: 89, pl. 43; cf. Root, this volume p. 14). A "hammer-like weapon" is depicted on PFS 0503, discussed by Garrison & Root 2001 I: 434-5 (cat.no. 307, pl. 171).

<sup>30</sup> On the σκεπτοῦχος at the Achaemenid court: Hinz 1969: 66-8; HEP: 204, 270, 282, 287, 325. The Neo-Assyrian reliefs attest to the existence of maces as insignia of certain court officials (see Reade 1972: 94-5, 98-103) and textual evidence on the Middle-Assyrian 'Königsritual' describes how, when a new king is being installed, the court officials (*ša rēš šarrānu*) temporarily lay down their sceptres and other insignia before they are confirmed in their office (Müller 1937: 12-6 [II. II.37-III.14], 52). I owe these references to Amélie Kuhrt.

<sup>31</sup> For the seal see also Amiet 1972: 210 ("investiture d'un fonctionnaire"), 216-7 [1677], pls. 33, 156, who describes the axe as: "... une hachette dont l'extrémité inférieure est renforcée et munie d'une cordelette pendante. La lame de la hachette est crachée par un dragon à petite bosse derrière la tête, au-dessus d'une crête dorsale." Seals that may also depict investiture of officials: *ibid.* [1678-9], pls. 33-4, 157. For Idaddu II, Kuk-Simut and documents sealed by this scribe see Vallat 1996: 302-6, 311.

<sup>32</sup> Lambert 1971, 217: "Attahushu ... a fait gratifier de (cette) hache [de bronze] son serviteur Ibni-Adad." The axe was published by Dossin 1962: 156-7 [no. 1], pl. 23. Two other axes are inscribed with only the name Atta-hušu, see Amiet 1966: 259 [no. 188] and *idem* 1972: 210, pl. 196d. Compare also Potts 1999: 177, with fig. 6.2. For Atta-hušu and Ibni-Adad see Vallat 1989; *idem* 1996: 304, 309-12.

are a number of (inscribed) ceremonial axes, some of which may not be votive objects, but insignia too.<sup>33</sup>

In my opinion, the weapon – a sort of ceremonial hammer – held by Aspathines should be explained in a similar way; it is the insignium of his office, that of ‘chancellor of the king’s house’ and chief administrator of the Persepolis economic system. Text and image seem to be in close correspondence: the image communicates Aspathines’ position by means of the insignium, the text does so by means of the title, ‘chamberlain’.<sup>34</sup>

Incidentally, it appears that the ceremonial axe as a court official’s insignium had a long life in Iran. Certain dignitaries, notably the *nasaqā bāši* (‘chief-discipliner’) at the Qajar court had such axes as an indication of their rank and office. A painted box, given by Fath-Ali Shah (1797-1834) to the Fürst von Metternich, shows this influential official standing in front of the Peacock Throne (fig. 1 below).<sup>35</sup>

<sup>33</sup> Amiet 1966: 358 [no. 265] (Untaš-Napiriša), 407 [no. 307] (end 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium); Dossin 1962: 157 [no. 13] (Šilhak-Inšušinak I). Lambert also discusses the gift of a tankard and concludes that at Susa “une hiérarchie dans les dignités auliques, hiérarchie marquée par différents objets – vase, hache – donnés par le prince” may have existed.

<sup>34</sup> If this is correct, it has some bearing on the interpretation of the audience scenes on the Treasury reliefs and some of the door-jamb reliefs of the Throne Hall. Hinz (1969: 63-8; 1970: 424-5; 1971: 301; repeated in Koch 1992: 36-8) supposed that the man approaching the king on his throne was Parnakka ‘der Hofmarschall’ (\**hazārapatiš*, ‘chiliarch’). This hypothesis, first put forward by Junge, takes Parnakka to be the official responsible for royal audiences and as a powerful government minister. There is, however, no evidence supporting this idea, as Lewis (1977: 8-9) and Briant (1994: 291-8) have amply shown (Junge’s thesis was already refuted by Foy 1901: 510-1). Now, if the interpretation of Aspathines’ insignium is right, this would provide a supplementary argument. An official with the very same attributes as those held by Aspathines is the third person *behind* the throne on all the audience reliefs. There, and not *before* the throne, is where ‘Parnakka,’ or rather the anonymous ‘chief administrator,’ is to be found. Surely, Parnakka or any of his successors would have had nothing to do with organising royal audiences; their function was very different from that of the \**hazārapatiš*. On the latter see HEP: 234-5; 269-72; BHACH II: 107.

<sup>35</sup> For a description of the box, see von Hammer-Pugstall 1816 who refers to the three men before the throne, “deren hinterste mit dem Beil der Nasakdschibaschi, d.i. Hofmarschall ist, welcher sowohl in dieser seiner Verrichtung, als auch als Minister der vollstreckenden Macht (aller Hinrichtungen und Strafen) ganz dem Tschauschbaschi des osmanischen Hofes entspricht [...]” (*ibid.* 106). See also Amanat 1993: 380 on the title. Justi (1896: 660) was first to call draw the parallel between the insignium of the Qajar official and that of Aspathines (the Elamite examples were unknown at the time).

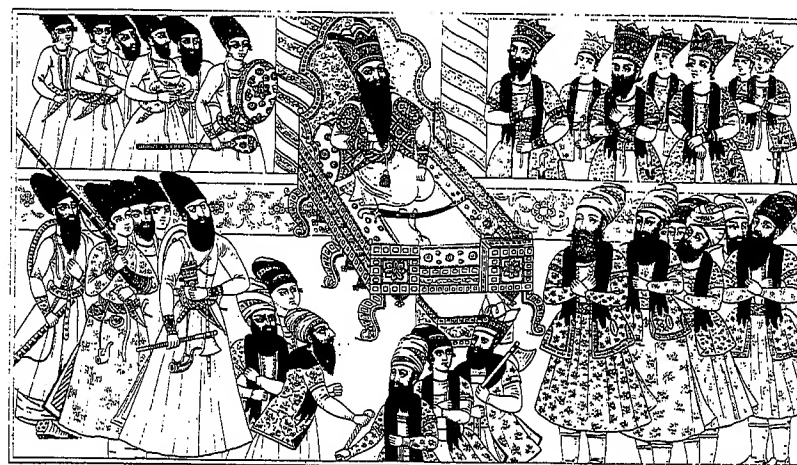


Fig. 1: The Qajar court; drawing of the miniature painting on the lid of a box, olim collection Clemens Fürst von Metternich-Winneburg (after von Hammer-Pugstall 1816).

4.1.7.2. *Šutruru and Aspathines* – A further indication for the high administrative position held by Aspathines may be found on the late Neo-Elamite relief of Kūl-e Farah I. This relief shows the ruler, Hanni of Aiapir, followed on the left by two smaller figures, both identified by short inscriptions.<sup>36</sup> The upper figure holds a quiver and bow and carries a sword at his side.<sup>37</sup> The scene is an obvious precursor of Darius’ Naqš-e Rostam tomb relief showing the king accompanied, on the left panel, by his court officials Gobryas and Aspathines (identified by DNe-d, cf. § 4.1.3 above), the latter holding the bow-and-arrow case of the king (and carrying an *akinakes* at his side). The link is strengthened by the various other, consequential parallels between the Neo-Elamite reliefs of Kūl-e Farah and Šekaft-e Salmān (Īzeh) and the Achaemenid tomb reliefs that Peter Calmeyer has pointed out.<sup>38</sup>

The above-mentioned upper figure on the Kūl-e Farah I relief is introduced as ‘Šutruru, the *ragipal* of Hanni’.<sup>39</sup> Hinz explained the title, *ragipal*, as a blurred form (‘Verballhornung’) of Akkadian *rab ekalli*, ‘master of

<sup>36</sup> EKI 75B-C; Hinz 1962: 111; cf. De Waele 1976: 444-6.

<sup>37</sup> See, most recently, Calmeyer 1987/90: 285; De Waele 1989: 29-30; Seidl 1997: 202.

<sup>38</sup> Calmeyer 1973: 140-52; *idem* 1975a. Compare Henkelman [forthcoming]: 80-1, 84-5 on Kūl-e Farah and *passim* on Elamite-Iranian acculturation.

<sup>39</sup> The reading and interpretation of the title of the second official on the Kūl-e Farah relief is problematic. Compare Hinz 1962: 111, EKI: 160 and EIw s.v. *ni-si-ik-ki-ir*.

the palace' (1950: 287 n. 13). This solution remains as yet unconfirmed (cf. Stolper 1987/90: 277-8), but it is certainly attractive given the frequent occurrence of the title *rab ekalli* (written GALE.GAL<sup>MES</sup>) in the Neo-Elamite documentation.<sup>40</sup> In any case, various Īzeh inscriptions indicate that the named Šutruru was a high-ranking individual, probably the most senior official after Hanni himself; his title *ragipal* undoubtedly is the expression of this position.

Given a) the general parallelism between the Īzeh reliefs and Darius' tomb, b) the correspondence between the two scenes of the king with his court officials (Kül-e Farah I and the tomb of Darius) and c) the parallel images of the senior court official performing the ceremonial duty of holding his master's bow and quiver (or bow-and-arrow case), it is justified to consider Šutruru and Aspathines as holders of a comparable position at the respective courts. In other words, Šutruru's position as top-level administrative official reinforces the idea (§ 4.1.7 above) that Aspathines was the chief administrator and plausibly the 'chancellor of the king's house.' The difference is in the nature of their titles only: whereas Šutruru's designation (seemingly) is a straightforward description of his function (*ragipal* = *rab ekalli*?), Aspathines' office is indirectly referred to by the honorary label *lipte kuktira*, 'chamberlain.'

4.1.8. *A pontifical parallel* – It may be instructive to cast a brief glance at the Roman pontifical court where, until a reform decreed by Paul VI, no less than eight different classes of *cubicularii*, 'chamberlains' for high-ranking prelates and noble laymen existed. Some of these titles, e.g., *cub. secretus* ('privy chamberlain'), involved active duty as major-domo, as master of the papal antichamber, in the pontifical liturgy or as advisor. Others, like *cub. honorarius extra Urbem*, were honorary sinecures. In addition, there were, and still are, various *camerarii* (also 'chamberlains') the most exalted of whom is the *sanctae romanae ecclesiae camerarius* (It. *camerlengo*), a kind of minister of finance acting with a own seal, who also takes charge in a period of *sedis vacatio* and organises the conclave. Some of the titles involved a special dress (e.g., the *cub. purpuratus*) or insignia like a ceremonial sword and mantle (*cub. ab ense & lacerna*, for noble laymen) or violet-blue pendants on horse harnesses. The 'chamberlain' titles and the offices they implied were highly sought after and purchasable from the Renaissance period onwards. This hold true not only for the more prestigious titles; 'additional' (It. *soprannumerario*) chamberlain was considered a prime career start for young Roman and Italian noblemen.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> MDP 9, a 'Niniveh letter' and the Persepolis bronze tablet; see Steve 1986: 13-4, 17.

<sup>41</sup> For the role of the nobility at the Renaissance papal court see Partner 1990 (esp. 20; 24-31; 60-1; 96-8; 156-7; 160); see Weber 1978 for the nineteenth century (esp. I: 112-8;

Like the Roman pope, the Achaemenid king had a variety of 'chamberlains' with different statuses, occupations and backgrounds, but with shared membership of an elite class that was closely connected to the crown. Their title, like that of the papal chamberlains, did not refer to actual duties, but to rank and to certain offices linked directly or indirectly to the crown. A further parallel is the use of certain insignia, including ceremonial weapons. Also, the court title seems in both cases to have been a means to acquire, accumulate and secure personal wealth. As such, acquiring the title 'chamberlain' was an excellent way to start a career in Rome, as was true of the Achaemenid court titles as well (see § 4.1.4 above). There is even a parallel between the highest 'chamberlain' at both courts, who, in either case, is really a chief economic administrator. Obviously, many differences exist as well, but the comparison with the Roman court remains instructive because it testifies so clearly to the widespread usage of certain court titles in a political system that itself has grown increasingly complex and is in constant demand for officials of a certain rank.

4.1.9. *Return to the šumar* – As we have seen, officials designated as 'chamberlains' are, at least via their servants, involved in the keeping of a *šumar* in NN 1848. Although, I would not exclude the possibility that 'chamberlains' were somehow involved in the pasturage, feeding, housing or general management of small cattle, it must be stressed that that is *nowhere* implied by the available evidence on these officials. Moreover, whereas the pasturage and feeding of small cattle are really the commonest subject of the PF texts, the 'chamberlains' are extremely rare in the archive (as are the *šumar*). Also, although NN 1848 mentions servants, it does (like the other four *šumar* texts) seem to imply a pretty close involvement of the *šumar*-keeping chamberlains. This would be surprising as all the 'chamberlains' seem to have been senior officials who, notwithstanding the differences in their status, all held high positions closely linked to the crown. That they could have been involved in basic labour, if only as supervisors, can be excluded; the limited responsibility of a sheepfold-keeper does not fit at all the image of the Achaemenid chamberlain.

#### 4.2. The occurrence of libap

4.2.1. *Categories of libap and puhu* – In two of the *šumar* texts, NN 1700 and NN 1848, *libap*, 'servants' occur. They are associated with the 'keepers of the

186-7; 198-9). See Benigni 1908 for the title *camerlengo* (< Dutch *kamerling*). For a list of titles and their reorganisation see the *motu proprio* by Paul VI 1968.

*šumar* and receive three monthly rations of flour or grain. In the PF archive, *libap* occur in about 175 texts, but they never seem to be involved in the herding, feeding, slaughtering or sacrificing of *small* cattle. This already casts some doubt on *šumar* as 'sheepfold,' although it be admitted that two groups with *libap* are involved in the driving of *large* cattle (PF 1344 and NN 1989).<sup>42</sup> This would seem to allow for *libap* as keepers of a sheepfold too, but the context of NN 1700 and NN 1848 argues against this possibility.

There are three regular contexts in which *libap* occur: 1) serving large workforces (*kurtaš*), 2) assisting travel parties of 'free men' (*šalup*) and 3) assisting itinerant officials such as judges, registrars, 'lancebearers' and accountants.<sup>43</sup> It should be stressed once more that the designation *libap* does not necessarily imply a low social status, it primarily denotes a subordinate position (cf. ad NN 1700: 8-9 above). Also, it should be noted that travel assistants (category 2) and servants of itinerant officials (category 3) are sometimes referred to by equivalent designations: *šaulum* (or *šaulumbe*), 'assistant, servant',<sup>44</sup> and *puhu*, 'page, servant' (lit. 'boy').<sup>45</sup> It is evident and generally accepted that in category 2 and 3 contexts the terms *šaulum* and *puhu* are interchangeable with *libap*.<sup>46</sup>

The *šaulum* and *puhu* also occur in a fourth category of relatively large stationary or travelling servant taskgroups associated with high-ranking Persians. The term *libap* does not occur in this category, except, possibly, in the two texts under discussion and perhaps in a few less clear cases (see § 4.2.4 below). Relevant characteristics of the four categories are enlisted in the table below (m. = mostly; o. = occasionally; r. = rarely):

<sup>42</sup> It should be noted that the involvement of *šalup*, 'free men,' in these two groups implies that they are not likely to be regular herdsmen; their task, the transport of certain cattle, must be special in some way.

<sup>43</sup> See Giovinazzo 1994 on travel parties; cf. Brosius 2003: 274f. on a travelling official.

<sup>44</sup> On *šaulum*, *šaulumbe*: PFT: 44; EIW s.v. *hh.šá-u-lu-be*; Giovinazzo 1995: 149-150. It may be that *šaulum* is Akkadian in origin, if it is the same word as Neo-Elamite *šamallumbe* (MDP 9 151). The latter was borrowed from Akk. *šamallu* ('merchant's assistant, apprentice, novice'); see EIW s.v. *hw.šá-ma-al-lu-um-be*. Giovinazzo (*l.c.*) already hinted at the possibility that *šaulum* was a local term limited to certain sections of the PF area and used by "scribi formati in una scuola periferica."

<sup>45</sup> In these contexts *puhu* denotes "servants boys [...] in an occupational sense [that] has nothing to do with chronological age" (Hallock, PFT: 39). See also Giovinazzo 1995: 144-9 and *passim* on the various meanings and contexts of *puhu*. Cf. HEP: 950 (with references) for a comparison with Greek and Hebrew terminology.

<sup>46</sup> Koch 1983: 20-1; Giovinazzo 1995: 148-50.

	1. <i>kurtaš</i> workforces	2. <i>travel</i> parties	3. <i>itinerant</i> officials	4. <i>elite servant</i> taskgroups
<i>function</i>	assisting <i>kurtaš</i>	(travel) assistants to <i>šalup</i>	assisting officials	specialists in private staff
<i>group</i>	workforce supervised by senior official	several <i>libap</i> and <i>šalup</i> , o. larger groups.	m. 1 official and 1-3 <i>libap</i>	4-300 servants alone or with 1-2 superiors
<i>ratio superior(s): servants</i>	m. 1:100	m. 1:2, 1:1, 2:1, 3:1, o. 4:1 to 14:1	1:1, 2:1, 3:1; o. 4:1 to 14:1	with superior: 10:1 to 300:1 / alone: 4 to 300
<i>status</i>	stationary	travelling (o. implicit)	itinerant within the PF area	stationary or travelling
<i>ration period</i>	1 month, r. 2-3 months	1 or several days	up to 12 months	1-5 months or 1-15 days
<i>persons specified in ration list</i>	men, boys, women, girls, <i>libap</i>	<i>šalup</i> , <i>libap</i> (or <i>puhu</i> , <i>šaulum</i> )	officials, <i>libap</i> (or <i>puhu</i> , <i>šaulum</i> )	servants alone or with 1-2 superiors
<i>monthly ration</i>	20 quarts of grain	30 quarts of flour (r. grain)	30 quarts of flour (r. grain)	20, 30 or 45 quarts of flour

Table 1: Categories of servant groups (*libap*, *šaulum*, *puhu*).

4.2.2. *Kurtaš* workforces – The *libap* of NN 1700 are described as *kurtaš* and they appear to be stationary. Yet, unlike the groups in category 1, there is no specified ration list (men, women, boys, girls, servants), nor a senior official by whom the workers were assigned (PN *damanna*) or under whose responsibility they fell (PN *šaramanna*). This is all the more significant given the fact that in 16 other letters from Ziššawiš to Šiyatizza, groups of *kurtaš* are mentioned that invariably fall under the responsibility of such an official (cf. above ad NN 1700: 2). The same holds true for NN 1848: from four letters from Ziššawiš to Pirratamka, this is the only one where no official responsible (PN *šaramana*) for the workforce is mentioned (cf. above ad NN 1848: 1). These 'servants' apparently operate alone notwithstanding the explicit reference to their superiors (the 'keepers of the *šumar*'); not even one or several senior workmen appear together with the *libap* in the ration lists of NN 1700 and NN 1848.

Furthermore, while NN 1700 records rations of both 20 and 30 quarts of flour, NN 1848 has only rations of 30 quarts. The basic labour workforces of category 1, on the other hand, are on minimum wages; the *libap* in these groups never receive more than 20 quarts. The *libap* in the texts under discussion can,

in short, hardly be a *kurtas* workforce performing regular basic labour as expected in a 'sheepfold'.<sup>47</sup>

There is a useful parallel that illustrates the status of the workgroups in NN 1700 and NN 1848. In NN 1612 *kurtas* are active as *partetaš nuškip*, 'tenders/keepers of a [productive] estate' (see ad NN 1700: 5 above). The ration list specifies differentiated rations for 114 men, women and children, all on minimum wages and under responsibility of a senior official. One would expect the *šumar nuškip* to be organised in a similar way if the term would mean 'sheepfold keepers' and if they were active as similar productive unit.<sup>48</sup> Yet, we do find very different groups of only *libap* who operate alone.

4.2.3. *Travel parties and itinerant officials* – The *libap* of NN 1700 and NN 1848 do not correspond to the profiles of categories 2 and 3 either. They are certainly not travelling with *šalup* as in category 2, but appear to be stationary for at least 3 months. Their superiors do not appear together with them in rations lists, as the officials in category 3 do. Also, category 3 texts always imply mobility of some sort, even when rations are issued for a longer period, whereas the 'keepers of (the) <sup>AS</sup>*šu-ma-ir*' and the *libap* associated with them seem to be bound to a single location.<sup>49</sup>

<sup>47</sup> Initially, I suspected that NN 0287 was of relevance to the *libap* in NN 1700 and NN 1848. This text records rations for a *kurtas* workforce of 31 *puhu*, women and girls (but no men). In ll. 13-7 a computation is presented: 'total: 31 workers – monthly 710 [quarts] issued at the granary; [in] the 11<sup>th</sup> [month] 350 [quarts] which the *libap* (written <sup>AS</sup>*li-'bap* [sic!]) received; total issued: 1060 quarts.' This is a slightly misleading phrasing, however, for the *libap* actually are the same as the 31 workers; *puhu* here surely means 'servant,' not 'boy' (the text belongs to category 1). NN 0287 (and NN 1908, as RTH saw) records a half-ration for the 11<sup>th</sup> month (the 350 quarts) and a normal ration for the 12<sup>th</sup> and 1<sup>st</sup> months (the 710 quarts). In PF 1069 and PF 1070 the same group receives 1/3 rations, in NN 0409 2/3 rations.

<sup>48</sup> The PF archive has a word, *baribataš* ('protective enclosure,' see § 3.2 above) to refer to sheepfolds, but as information on rations for the sheepfolds' personnel is lacking in the relevant texts, they do not provide a useful parallel for NN 1700 and NN 1848.

<sup>49</sup> There are several more or less irregular groups, but these still fit the general patterns of categories 2 and 3. In the case of the travelling brewers (PF 1310; PF 1431; PF 1515; NN 0301; NN 0330; NN 0971; NN 1451; NN 1696; NN 2507 and possibly NN 2086) the occupational designation is unexpected, but the group does consist of travelling, daily-rations receiving *šalup* and their *libap* (cat. 2; cf. the stone-cutters in NN 2426). Some groups with *libap* and *šalup* receive rations for more than one month, but are, on closer inspection not stationary (e.g., PFa 1080 and PFa 29: 14-6; PFa 9 and PFa 29: 17-19; PF 1017; PF 1044; NN 2534) and should be counted to category 3. Note also

4.2.4. *Elite servant taskgroups* – The groups in the fourth category, which, for the lack of a better term, I have coined 'elite servant taskgroups,' seem closest to the *libap* in NN 1700 and NN 1848. In a recent, important discussion of the subject, Giovinazzo (1995: 151-7) analysed larger groups of *puhu* sent from Kermān to Susa under the guidance of a 'treasury master' (*iršara kapnuški*). These *puhu* may have been adolescents, but not necessarily; the prime characteristic implied by the term is that they were servants, as in categories 2-3.<sup>50</sup> The 'pages' or 'valletti' (Giovinazzo), were apparently sent to become part of the entourage of high-ranking Persians at the court in Susa. As such they are introduced as, e.g., *puhu Irtašduna-na*, 'pages of [queen] Artystone'.<sup>51</sup> Undoubtedly these *puhu* were considered as a private possession, contrary to those in categories 2-3. Other cases discussed by Giovinazzo are the *puhu* of the *abbamuš* Irdabama (the royal woman with the most extensive range of economic activities in the PF archive),<sup>52</sup> of Bagiya (apparently husband of princess Ištīn and in equal rank to Parnakka)<sup>53</sup> and of Ukama 'the

NN 0456 on a travelling group of *raši nuškip* (meaning unknown), which includes, besides the regular *libap* and *šalup*, women and children. The text is enigmatic, but despite its slight irregularity it generally corresponds to category 2.

<sup>50</sup> Here I disagree with Giovinazzo's contention (1995: 156) that in category 4 contexts "*puhu* conserva il suo senso originario di «giovane, giovanetto, adolescente»."

<sup>51</sup> *Puhu* of Irtašduna: PF 1454 (20 *puhu* [recte 50]). *Puhu* of (the) *abbamuš* and Irtašduna: PFa 14 (71 *puhu*; cf. HEP: 477). For Irtašduna's activities within the scope of the PF archive see Brosius 1996: 125-9, 180.

<sup>52</sup> The texts, PFa 14 (see n. 51 above) and NN 1421 (40 *puhu*), refer to Irdabama by her (unique) title *abbamuš*. The connection between this title and the royal woman (perhaps queen-mother) Irdabama and the important position she held has been established by Brosius 1996: 129-144 (cf. Henkelman 2000: 501). Note that *abbamuš* (*ab-ba-mu-iš*) represents the transliteration that Hallock came to prefer over his initial *abbaukiš* (*ab-ba-uk-iš*; see PFT: 664). Contrary to what Giovinazzo's quotations suggest (1995: 152-3), Hallock (1978: 111, 121) transliterated *abbamuš* in PFa 14, not *abbaukiš*.

<sup>53</sup> *Puhu* of Bagiya: PF 1377; PF 1399; NN 0809; NN 2139 (all 100 *puhu*; cf. Hallock 1978: 111-2). The 'treasury master' escorting the pages is Hindukka (<sup>HAL</sup>*hi-in-du-ka*). Undoubtedly he and the Endauka (<sup>HAL</sup>*e-in-da-u-ka*) who escorts '20 *puhu*' (no attribution; PF 1456) are one and the same person (pace Giovinazzo 1995: 154; cf. ElW s.vv.). Bagiya occurs in the company of princess Ištīn in PF 0823; he may have been her husband as Lewis (1985: 112) surmised (see also Brosius 1996: 144 on Ištīn). This Bagiya may have been Bagaio son of Artontes who was among 'the foremost Persians' (Hdt. III.127-8; Lewis l.c.; Tavernier 2002: 429 [8.2.292]). In NN 2259: 27-8 he is recipient of 10 head of small cattle for 5 days, i.e. a ration level equalled only by Parnakka himself. In NN 2206: 13-6, Bagiya is on his way from Kermān to the king



Beziyamatian' (apparently a senior official commanding considerable troops).<sup>54</sup> There can be no doubt that these individuals belonged to the upper segment of Achaemenid society. Their 'pages' may have been sent (*via* Kermān) to them as part of the tribute from the eastern satrapies, as Giovinnazzo argues; in any case the involvement of treasury officials may indeed imply that they were professionally trained before they were sent to the capital.<sup>55</sup>

Apart from the human shipments from Kermān, an entourage of *puhu* is actually attested *in officio*: 300 'pages of Parnakka,' receive, like their master, daily rations and appear sometimes alone, sometimes together with Parnakka in the ration lists. In various letter-orders Parnakka provides for rations to be issued to smaller detachments of his servant group.<sup>56</sup>

Now, were these 300 *puhu* engaged in mere fly-swatting, wine-pouring and puffing up the cushions in Parnakka's tent? I find it hard to imagine that they were a purely domestic force, a part of Parnakka's private life which had

with 200 *šalup* and 140 *puhu*. See also NN 0136 (Šamašika the *hasura* of B.) and NN 1662 (wine ration for B.).

<sup>54</sup> *Puhu* of Ukama: PF 1330 (10). Travelling with 1060 *šalup taššup* ('free men, troops'): NN 1044. With unspecified, but certainly large groups of *taššup*: PF 0330; PF 2027; NN 1159; NN 1254; NN 1711; NN 1816 and a PF text in the Rosen collection (R 558, see Stolper & Jones [forthcoming] no. 8). The designation *Beziyamatiya* occurs exclusively with Ukama, with the exception of PF 0329 that mentions (perhaps as many as 21,400) *taššup Beziyamatiya* ('Beziyamatiyan troops' – Schmitt's divergent interpretation [1986: 131 n. 64] is irreconcilable with the word order). *Beziamatiya* is thought to be the Elamite rendering of OPers. *Paišiyāuvādā* (Gershevitch in PFT: 678; Tavernier 2002: 376 [6.3.36-7]), i.e. the locality where Gaumata/Bardiya started his 'uprising' (DB I: 36-7) and where Vahyazdāta (Bardiya II) gathered new troops (OPers. *kāra-*; Elam. *taššup* [!]) after his first defeat (DB III: 42). Located either in the region of Pasargadae or in that of Fāsā (see Vallat 1993: 196 with lit.), in any case *Paišiyāuvādā* seems to have been an important town (military stronghold?) and the designation/title 'Beziyamatian' should be evaluated accordingly. Note also that seal PFS 0284\*, used by Ukama or his office, is quite distinctive with its Egyptianizing iconography and Greek inscription (Garrison & Root 2001 I: 192-3 [111]). Possibly the same Ukama is the addressor of a letter to Parnakka on an inventory made at various estates (PF 1857; on this text see Uchitel 1997: 137-8).

<sup>55</sup> Boys as tribute: Hdt. III.97. On the possible identity of these 'boys' and the groups of *puhu* in the PF archive see also HEP: 450. It is quite possible that some of the groups of anonymous 'eunuchs' of the king and various princesses referred to by the Greek sources (see HEP: 284) were private servant workforces similar to those discussed here.

<sup>56</sup> The group of 300 *puhu*: PFa 4; NN 0152; NN 0835; NN 1393; NN 1689; NN 1740; NN 2038: 1-7. Letter-orders: PF 1803-4; PF 1809; NN 0037; NN 0426; NN 0531. Other *puhu* of Parnakka: PF 1944: 1-3, NN 0789 and possibly NN 2337: 3-6.

no connection with the matters falling within the archive's scope. The fact that 'pages' of Parnakka, Irdabama or Irtašduna/Artystone appear in the PF archive is, in my view, more easily explained by taking them essentially as part of the professional staff of noble and royal Persians, as taskforces plausibly engaged in the control of the extensive estates and other material assets owned by their masters. These estates fully integrated into the Persepolis economic network; in fact, the estates are probably the main reason (apart from journeys) why some members of the royal house and the nobility appear in the PF archive at all. From the archive it is clear that Irdabama and Irtašduna were actively involved in the administration of their own estates and other possessions. As for Parnakka, apart from heading the PF administration as a whole, he seems to have been responsible as well for the king's 'house' (*ulhi*; cf. § 4.1.7.1 above) and as such had to manage the royal estates and the *caesariani* in Fārs. If Giovinnazzo is right in assuming that the 'pages' received a certain training in, or connected with, one of the local craft- and administrative centres known as 'treasury' (*kapnuški*),<sup>57</sup> we may envisage them as members of the professional entourage of the Persian elite. They may have been involved in the bureaucracy and management of private estates, or in other tasks that required a certain training and that could not be entrusted to regular *kurtāš*.

Various servant taskgroups appear to be stationary for one month or longer. This is the case for about five additional category 4 groups of 'pages'.<sup>58</sup> Also, various groups of *puhu Iškuḍrap* 'Skudrian pages' receive a 30 or 45 quarts ration of grain and a 10 quarts ration of wine for periods up to nine

<sup>57</sup> A local *kapnuški* was probably more than just a storage facility. Kawase considers the 'treasuries' to be "primarily organised as places of leather production" (1986: 271), but that definition is probably too narrow, even though deliveries of animal hides (for parchment?) to 'treasuries' are indeed predominant. Writers, accountants and *etiḫ* (a kind of administrators) are connected to the treasuries too (see e.g. PF 0864-6; PF 0879, NN 1524, NN 2071), as well as a whole range of craftsmen (cf. Koch 1981; 1990: 235-8, "manufakturartige Betriebe" – see also Hinz 1971: 265-9).

<sup>58</sup> Stationary groups: 604 (?) Babylonian *puhu* of Rimada (NN 0065: 3-5, 3 months); 6 (?) *puhu* of Nukudda & Nutidda (NN 2335: 42-3, 1 month); 154 *puhu Ušmarakkaš-be* ('Ušmarakkian pages,' NN 0193, wine rations for 1 month); 7 *puhu* of Mappirramatiya, 3 of <sup>HAL</sup>*hi-ti<sup>2</sup>-pi<sup>2</sup>-x<sup>1</sup>* and 3 of Tarkah (NN 0563, 4 months). Compare also the 11 *puhu* (without any qualification) in NN 2505 (1 month). There are also some additional travelling groups: 4 *puhu* of Ibezana (NN 0140); 20 *puhu* of Maupima (PF 1469); 20 *puhu* of Mišidadda (PF 1480); 55 *puhu* of <sup>HAL</sup>*ti<sup>2</sup>-u-ba-na* (or <sup>HAL</sup>*ba-u-ba-na*; NN 1025); 15 *puhu* of Rašnubar (PF 1498).



months.<sup>59</sup> Finally, there is a group of 29 'Persian *puhu* who are copying tablets.' Contrary to Giovinazzo, I am inclined to consider them as an elite servant taskforce too (they may be comparable to Parnakka's 300 'pages'). These *puhu*, who seem to be associated with the treasurer Šuddayauda, a top-level official, again receive relatively high rations during one or two months.<sup>60</sup>

4.2.5. *Libap and puhu* – The image of the *puhu*, 'pages' of category 4 is quite close to that of the *libap* in NN 1700 and NN 1848. The *puhu* of the 'elite servant taskgroups' were closely associated to the upper segment of Achaemenid nobility, the *libap* in NN 1848 are associated with 'chamberlains,' a prestigious court title the holders of which were closely linked to the crown. Also, (the *šumar* of) Hystaspes in NN 1700 (cf. below) provides a link with the highest Persian nobility. Category 4 *puhu* often appear alone in ration lists and seem to operate as professional, independent taskgroups as do the *libap* in NN 1700 and NN 1848. A number of 'elite servant taskgroups,' like the *libap*, appear to be stationary for one or several months. The *puhu* mostly receive 30 or 45 quarts rations of flour (sometimes grain), but groups with 20 and 30 quarts

<sup>59</sup> PF 1946: 19-22; PF 1947: 76-7; PF 1954: 1-3; PF 1957: 10-11; NN 0728: 10-11 (?); NN 2211: 26-7; NN 2265: 13-4; NN 2479: 5-7; NN 2487: 1-4 (all journal texts). Various arguments have seriously undermined Justi's assumption that OPers. *Skudra* (whence Elam. *Iškudrap*) means 'Macedonian' (Szemerényi 1980: 23-6). The interpretations 'Thracian-Macedonian' or 'Thracian' are problematic as well (cf. Gropp 2001), but a clear alternative is yet to be found.

<sup>60</sup> PF 0871; PF 1137; NN 1485; NN 1588 (see PFT: 29-30; HEP: 345, 949). The *puhu* received monthly flour rations of 30 and 45 quarts, appear alone in the ration lists and are assigned by Šuddayauda. Giovinazzo (1995: 144-7) argues that *puhu* in these cases means 'apprentista, aiutante' (this meaning for *puhu* is, admittedly, well established in other text; see recently Vallat 2001). Given the 45 quarts ration that 16 of these *puhu* receive and that it equals that of *šalup*, 'free men,' it is hard to imagine, however, that they were not fully-accomplished scribes. The argument that they were paid so well, even as apprentices, because they were *Persians* is inconclusive: many of the *šalup* evidently were Persians too. Also, the profession of scribe ("un'attività molto qualificante") offers no explanation as other scribes received rations of only 20 or 30 quarts (PF 1810; PF 1828; PF 1947: 17-8, 21-6, 29-30; NN 2394; NN 2529). That the latter were *Babylonian* scribes is not relevant (Babylonians did not receive lower wages; Giovinazzo 1989: 201-3 even argues that they were especially appreciated, as does Hinz 1971: 308). The real difference is that the *Babylonian* scribes were organised as regular *kurtas*-workforces, including *libap* on a 20 quarts ration (cf. category 1 above), whereas the *Persian puhu*, operated as an 'independent' workforce. On the *Babylonian* and *Persian* writers see also Lewis 1994: 24-6.

rations are also attested.<sup>61</sup> The *libap* of NN 1700 receive 20 and 30 quarts grain rations; those of NN 1848 receive 30 quarts flour rations. In short, it would seem only logical to consider these *libap* as a kind of 'elite servant taskforce' too. The only difference is the use of *libap* or *puhu* as designation, of the groups. This does not constitute a major problem, however, as these terms are used as equivalents in categories 2-3 too (cf. § 4.2.1 above).

4.2.6. *Cupbearer and chamberlains* – Finally, one further parallel should be mentioned: in PF 1011, a cupbearer (*battišmarnabarra*, see n. 23 above) receives rations of flour during 50 days together with his 11 *puhu libap harabe*, 'Arabian pages.'<sup>62</sup> Although this group does not appear to be stationary and possibly represents the activity of an itinerant official (cat. 3), it still seems relevant to NN 1848. In both texts we find a group of *libap* linked with the holder(s) of a court title, 'chamberlains' in NN 1848, 'cupbearer' in PF 1011.<sup>63</sup>

#### 4.3. *The commodities and the period during which they were issued*

4.3.1. *Grain and flour* – NN 1700 is a letter by Ziššawiš ordering Šiyatizza to issue grain to 2+7 *libap* during 3 months. This is the only letter addressed to Šiyatizza providing for grain for longer than one month. The 16 other known letters addressed to this official (i.e. all other texts naming Šiyatizza) regulate the provision of grain for one month only (see above ad NN 1700: 11-3).

NN 1848 is a letter by Ziššawiš ordering Pirratamka to issue flour to 35 *libap* during 3 months. Again, this is the only letter addressed to Pirratamka that regulates a three-months ration, the other letters concern one-month rations only (see above ad NN 1848: 14-8). It should be noted that Pirratamka headed the granary at Uzikurraš, an important stop along the Persepolis-Susa

<sup>61</sup> PF 1803; NN 0531 (*puhu* of Parnakka); cf. NN 0203 (category 3/4?).

<sup>62</sup> The same group (but with omission of the title) occurs in PFa 29: 20-2 and perhaps in NN 1635 as well. The term *puhu libap* occurs several times; it should be regarded as a more precise designation for 'pages.' Arabian *libap*: cf. PFa 17; PFa 29: 54-5.

<sup>63</sup> There are a few texts that record travelling by officials with larger groups of servants. I cannot exclude that these groups are members of the officials' private entourage rather than mere travel assistants. In PF 1510 Ratešda the *hupika libabebe* ('leader [?] of the servants') travels with 42 *puhu* to Arachosia. A Bakabadda travels in the company of 120 *puhu* (NN 0922) and elsewhere the same (?) man travels to Areia with 49 *libap* (PFa 29: 56-7; cf. PF 1438). Išbaramišima travels with 50 *puhu* (NN 0455; see Giovinazzo 2000/2001: 68-9, 71) and Harmišda with 160 *šaulumbe* (NN 2047).

road. The vast majority of the 62 texts on Pirratamka's activities concern travel parties. There is only one other stationary group, of *kurtas*, that receives rations from Pirratamka for more than one month that is based at the station, Uzikurraš, itself (see ad NN 1848: 1 above). From this perspective, Pirratamka's provision of flour for three months to 35 *libap* at Persepolis (NN 1848) is quite exceptional.

The period of three months in NN 1700 and NN 1848 is significant against the background of Šiyatizza's and Pirratamka's regular activities. Both texts regulate rations for workforces whose activity, composition and location was apparently more predictable or stable than was the case with most other groups they dealt with.<sup>64</sup> In fact, there is only one text in the combined Pirratamka and Šiyatizza corpus that is really comparable to NN 1700 and NN 1848. PF 0744 does not concern food rations, but monthly issues of flour, provided by Pirratamka, for a *lan*-offering during 12 months in Uzikurraš. Obviously, sacrifices and other cultic activities are both predictable and stable, hence the long period mentioned in this text.

4.3.2. *Small cattle* – In NN 2174, a letter-order by Parnakka, Harrena is commissioned to issue 24 head of small cattle at the *šumar* of two individuals during 12 months (for the calculation see above ad NN 2174: 20). Small cattle being provided for periods of more than one month is unusual in the PF archive – it occurs only with some high-ranking officials receiving small cattle as rations (*galma*) and with larger workforces that receive modest *portions* of meat. In these cases small cattle is sometimes provided for periods of 2–6 months, rarely longer (9, 15 or 19 months; see above ad NN 2174: 8–18). Neither of these ration profiles applies to NN 2174. In fact, the only parallel seems to be NN 2259: 7–8 where 30 head of small cattle are provided for a *lan*-offering at Pasargadae during 1'2' months.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>64</sup> This principle is nicely illustrated by the only other 'deviating' group, that of the *kurtas* at Uzikurraš: they were stationary at Pirratamka's own base and probably attached to the granary/travel station on a permanent basis.

<sup>65</sup> I refrain from discussing the *lan*-offering here, as it will be amply discussed in the dissertation that I am presently preparing. It should be said, though, that previous publications on this subject, notably Koch 1977; 1987 and Handley-Schachler 1998, rest on preconceived notions of what Achaemenid religion should be and are not particularly helpful (cf. BHach II: 114–6). Shahrokh Razmjou kindly gave me a copy of his forthcoming study on various ritual ceremonies in Persepolis, including *lan*; his work represents an important step forward.

Fort. 2512, also a letter-order by Parnakka addressed to Harrena, mentions two head of small cattle to be issued 'as rations (*galma*) for/in the 20<sup>th</sup> year.' In the last line, the letter is dated XII/20, but the phrasing of l. 12 does suggest that the provision of small cattle was intended for a whole year (cf. above ad Fort 2512: 12). Admittedly, the Persepolis scribes were not always very explicit and sometimes 'in year x' in reality means 'in year x, months a, b and c.' That possibility can be excluded here, however, because we know the scribe's name, Takmaziya, and we can check his conventions as to dating formulae. Six other letters of this scribe are known (all with Parnakka as addressor).<sup>66</sup> From these it appears that Takmaziya was a precise man: he always specified the relevant period in the ration formula, either by indicating the months or by noting that it was a 'monthly' ration, even when the period was just one month. PF 1807 offers a good example: 'in the *ninth month*, 23<sup>rd</sup> year, 11 men *monthly* receive each 5 quarts; in the 23<sup>rd</sup> year, ninth month, this sealed document was delivered.' Consequently, the phrasing in Fort. 2512 has to be taken precisely as it is written: the 2 head of small cattle are the ration of the 20<sup>th</sup> year.<sup>67</sup>

That Fort. 2512 provides small cattle for a whole year also appears from a comparison with NN 2174. In both texts Bakabadda *cum suis* are to receive cattle at Narezzaš; there can hardly be any doubt that one and the same Bakabadda is referred to. As I see it, the only real differences between the two texts are the number of small cattle and the fact that NN 2174 concerns the *šumar*(s) of Cambyses and the woman Upanduš, while Fort. 2512 deals with the *šumar* of Zišunduš. The scribe of NN 2174 explicitly specified 12 monthnames because six months were in the 19<sup>th</sup> and six in the 20<sup>th</sup> year. The scribe of Fort. 2512 did not have to do so, because in this case the period was an actual calendrical year, i.e. 'the 20<sup>th</sup> year.'<sup>68</sup>

<sup>66</sup> PF 1806–7; PF 1810; NN 1040; NN 1393; NN 1510.

<sup>67</sup> That this would constitute a quite meagre ration is discussed below (§ 4.3.3).

<sup>68</sup> I admit that, at least on the face of it, a reasonable alternative would seem to be that Bakabadda *c.s.* received 2 head of small cattle as a monthly ration and that NN 2174 provided this ration for a period of 12 months, Fort. 2512 for one month only. For this solution one would have to assume, however, a) that the formula 'ration for/in the 23<sup>rd</sup> year' implicitly means 'for one month,' b) that the scribe Takmaziya would be unusually imprecise, c) that Fort. 2512 would be rather imprecise compared to NN 2174, though both are letters from Parnakka dealing with the same subject, d) that there is an odd discrepancy between the two ration periods: 1 vs. 12 months. See also below, § 4.5.2 with an additional argument from PF 1854.

4.3.3. *Rations or offerings?* – The 24 head of small cattle in NN 2174 are provided to Bakabadda c.s., but they are, in my view, in the first place related to and possibly intended for the *šumar* of Cambyses and the woman Upanduš. The text does not specify that the cattle was sent as personal rations; *gal*, ‘ration’ does not occur. In Fort. 2512, on the other hand, the term *galma*, ‘as rations,’ does occur, but its usage is slightly problematic: comparison with other texts shows that 2 head of small cattle for a whole year is quite a meagre provision (see above ad Fort 2512: 12). It would thus seem worthwhile to consider the second meaning of *gal*: ‘offering(s).’

The basic meaning of *gal* must be something like ‘[food] portion,’ whence the translations ‘ration’ in the case of labourers and ‘offering’ in the case of gods. For Elamites the difference between these shades of meaning may have been slight. The meaning ‘offering’ seems to be attested already for the Neo-Elamite period.<sup>69</sup> In the Achaemenid period it is notably attested in the royal inscriptions DSf-elam. 17 and DSz-elam. 15 where *u Ūramasda gal hi dunu* (Vallat 1970: 151: ‘Moi, à Ahuramazda, j’ai donné cette offrande’) is the Elamite equivalent of OPers. *adam Auramazdām ayadaiy* (‘I venerated/worshiped Auramazdā’).<sup>70</sup> Also, in about 40 PF texts, *gal* denotes offerings for various gods, (e.g., Humban, Auramazdā), for/at certain (sacred?) places (e.g., ‘Mount Ariaramnes’) and for *lan*-rituals. Normally, the name of the god or the ritual is directly follows the word *gal*, e.g. *gal lan-na* (‘ration/offering for the *lan*-ritual’), but occasionally it appears detached and in a different position, though the context reveals that a (religious) ‘offering’ is referred to.<sup>71</sup> Fort. 2512 is not unlike the latter cases. There is no formal objection, as far as I can see, to the interpretation of the text as a provision of two head of small cattle as the offering of the 20<sup>th</sup> year, issued to Bakabadda c.s., the keepers of the *šumar* (of) Zišunduš. Note that possibly the same Bakabadda receives grain *gal*, ‘(as) offering’ for Išpandaramattiš and other gods at a place not far from Narezzaš (see above ad NN 2174: 304 and § 5.2.1 below).

4.3.4. *Sacrifices at the šumar* – The assumption that *šumar* were places where certain offerings were made works quite well for each of the four relevant texts.

<sup>69</sup> Persepolis bronze tablet, see EIW s.v. *gal* (‘Opfergabe’).

<sup>70</sup> See also the remarks by Steve 1974: 160 with n. 29 on the Akkadian versions.

<sup>71</sup> PF 0753: 120 quarts of wine are received by PN, who is to perform *lan*-ceremonies at GN, ‘which was given to him as royal rations/offerings’ (EŠŠANA-na *galma hi dunuka*). The phrasing of NN 0556 is comparable. NN 0984: ‘400 quarts of grain which PN received [as] rations/offerings’ (PN *gal duša*) during 10 months, ‘[which] he delivered for the god(s)’ (*nappina lašda*), 22<sup>nd</sup> year.

Many of the PF texts that deal with offerings, record longer periods, often 12 months, in which grain, wine and small cattle are issued.<sup>72</sup> NN 1700 and NN 1848 regulate flour rations for groups of *libap* during three months. That these groups were apparently more stable and predictable than other groups receiving rations from Šiyatizza or Pirratamka (above § 4.3.1), could well be explained from their involvement in regular, monthly offerings. In any case, Pirratamka is known to have been involved in the arrangements for offerings: he provided flour for a *lan*-ceremony during 12 months (PF 0744).

The 24 head of small cattle and the two *šumar* in NN 2174 may well be connected. The phrasing of the text, though not unequivocal, does seem to suggest so (cf. above ad NN 2174: 20). It is certainly possible that in each of the twelve months mentioned in the text, two head of small cattle were sacrificed, one for the *šumar* of Cambyses and one for the *šumar* of the woman Upanduš. As we have seen, the pattern of the provision of small cattle during 12 months in NN 2174 finds its closest parallel not in the rations of high officials, nor in the meat portions of large workforces, but in texts regulating commodities for offerings. Notably NN 2259: 7-8 (30 head of small cattle for offerings, during 1’2’ months) is relevant. The assumption of an offering at/for the *šumar* is also attractive for Fort. 2512 where the two head of small cattle seem to be a whole year’s provision. They would constitute quite meagre personal rations, but would make sense if provided for a sacrifice. The cattle may have been slaughtered on one or two occasions during the year for/at the *šumar* of Zišunduš.

4.3.5. *The beneficiaries of the offerings* – It should be stressed that the above interpretation of the small cattle in NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 as offerings for/at the *šumar*, not as rations, does not imply that Bakabadda *cum suis* did not touch the meat of the sacrificed animals. After being consecrated and slaughtered, the animals were quite plausibly consumed by those involved in the ritual. The consumption of consecrated commodities (grain, flour, cattle; perhaps also wine and poultry) is a well-attested practice in the PF archive.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>72</sup> This is often the case with *lan*-ceremonies (see, e.g., PF 0742-50, PF 0752-59), but Humban, Auramazdā, ‘the gods,’ etc. also received regular offerings provided for longer periods: NN 0984 (‘the god[s],’ 10 months); NN 1606 (‘the god[s],’ 1 yr); NN 1715 (*akriš*-ceremony for the god[s], 12 months); NN 2200: 1-5 (various gods and places, 1 yr); NN 2206: 1-3 (*idem*, 1 yr?); NN 2259: 7-8 (*lan*-ceremony, 1’2’ months); NN 2265: 1-4 (various gods and places, 1 yr); NN 2358: 1-3 (*idem*, 1 yr); NN 2362: 1-5 (*idem*, 1 yr); NN 2372: 1-2 (various gods, 1 yr?); NN 2479: 1-4 (various gods and places, 1 yr).

<sup>73</sup> See e.g. PF 0336-7; NN 0613; NN 0679; NN 0978 (grain); PF 0672 (flour); NN 2259: 1-2 (small cattle); NN 1701; NN 1731 (large cattle). With some hesitation: NN 2225

The twofold purpose of the small cattle may be the reason for the slight ambivalence in the phrasing of NN 2174: the text clearly links the 24 head for 12 months to the *šumar* of two individuals, but the animate demonstrative pronoun *hupibe-na* ('for those') in l. 20 does seem to refer to Bakabadda *c.s.* (see above ad NN 2174: 20). In my view, the text records that an offering of small cattle is to be made monthly at two *šumar*, but that Bakabadda *c.s.*, who are performing the ritual, are the earthly beneficiaries of the sacrificial meat.

4.3.6. *Not a sheepfold* - The direction of the transfer of small cattle in NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 is to the *šumar* and its keepers (cf. § 3.1 above). This alone should cast some doubt on the interpretations 'sheepfold' or 'sheep house' and in any case it provides a rather feeble background for the (implicit) etymology proposed by the EIW. Now, in either of the two scenarios discussed above, small cattle as rations or as offerings, it is hard to imagine why it should have been provided to the *šumar* if that were a 'sheepfold.' Of course, there is a third possibility, that the small cattle was intended to be kept at a sheepfold and that the transfers were to supplement an existing flock. If so, however, we would expect larger numbers of cattle being sent to the *šumar* in one single operation. In NN 2174 one would have expected a single transfer of 24 head of small cattle, not monthly provisions of only two. It would be even more surprising that the administration would have bothered to document the transfer of a total of two head of small cattle to a sheepfold (Fort. 2512).

#### 4.4. The letter-orders by Parnakka and Ziššawiš

4.4.1. *Letter-orders* - The four texts in which the word *šumar* occurs are all letter-orders. If one assumes, as I do, that letters (less than 4% of the known corpus), were not a regular *modus operandi* of the Persepolis economic administration but deal with special or unusual operations, this observation gains some weight. The existing ca. 180 letters deal with the inventories made by senior officials, collection of animal taxes, the transfer of large amounts of commodities, Irdabama and Irtašduna and their estates, provisions for the royal house, special workforces (craftsmen, foreigners, writers, 'Parnakka's *puhu*'), problems in the administrative system and religious matters. The place of the

(*basbas*, 'ducks'); NN 2402 (wine); NN 2486: 47-8 (various kinds of fruit). Many of these texts concern *šip*-sacrifices. *Šip* occurs at various points in XPh, e.g., *u Uramasda šibbe huḍda*, 'I made his *šip* for Auramazdā' (XPh-elam 33-4) which is the equivalent of OPers. *adam Auramazdām ayadaiy*, 'I venerated/worshipped Auramazdā.'

letters within the PF documentation cannot fully be appreciated without a detailed study of the corpus - certainly beyond the scope of this study - but even without that we can safely assume that the four letter-orders are indicative of the special status of the *šumar*.

4.4.2. *Parnakka and Ziššawiš* - The 'chancellor' Parnakka and his right-hand man Ziššawiš are very visible in the PF archive: their names occur in over 600 texts. The vast majority concerns travel parties and itinerant officials who hold a viaticum issued by Parnakka or Ziššawiš. The remainder concerns, *i.a.*, the royal house, taxes, special workgroups and rations for senior officials (including Parnakka and Ziššawiš themselves). Again, this corpus cannot possibly be surveyed within the limits set to this study, but it should be noted that both men are involved, directly or indirectly, in religious matters in 21 texts (including entries in journal-texts). Parnakka is 'making *šip*' (i.e. performing a certain ritual/sacrifice) using ducks, small or large cattle.<sup>74</sup> Ziššawiš is directly involved in various rituals: *šip* (PF 0672, flour), *lan* (NN 0561, wine) and *anšima* (NN 2486: 47-8, fruit). Indirect involvement is attested in five letter-orders by Parnakka ordering small cattle, grain, flour and wine to be issued for religious purposes.<sup>75</sup> Also, eight entries in the journal NN 2259 mention sealed documents (*halmi*) issued by Parnakka for the provision of small cattle for various sacrifices.<sup>76</sup>

Especially the five letters and eight *halmi* by Parnakka offer highly relevant parallels for the letter-orders on the *šumar*. Notably NN 2259: 7-8, referred to several times before, is interesting: 30 head of small cattle provided in accordance with a sealed document from Parnakka for *lan*-sacrifices at the *partetaš* in Pasargadae during 1'2' months. Compare NN 2174: a letter-order from Parnakka providing for 24 head of small cattle for a period of 12 months. Also, in four out of the five letter-orders on religious matters issued by Parnakka (see n. 74) periods longer than one month are involved, as in all the *šumar* texts.<sup>77</sup> The religious personnel performing the rituals/sacrifices is always named in both the five letters and the eighth *halmi* by Parnakka, as seems to be case in NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 (Bakabadda *c.s.*; cf. § 4.3.5 above). Some of the texts provide commodities for rituals/sacrifices at places that, like Narezzaš, are at some distance from Persepolis (Pasargadae, Kāmarukkaš).

<sup>74</sup> NN 1701; NN 1731; NN 2225; NN 2259: 1-2; NN 2259: 25-6; cf. n. 72 above.

<sup>75</sup> PF 1798 (2 monthly flour rations for a *makuš*); PF 1802 (grain for an offering by a priest); PF 2067-8 (wine and grain for offerings by priests); NN 1665 (small cattle for 'making *šip*').

<sup>76</sup> NN 2259: 3-4, 5-6, 7-8, 9-10, 11-2, 13-4, 15-6, 17-8.

<sup>77</sup> PF 1798 (2 months); PF 1802, PF 2067-8 (large amounts imply several months).

4.4.3. *The mysterious Mardašba* – It has been argued above (ad NN 1848: 11) that role of Mardašba, who issued a *halmi*, ‘sealed document’ providing for flour for the *šumar* at Uzikraš, is unparalleled. Though an official of high rank (with the authority to issue *halmi*) and though located at Persepolis, Mardašba only occurs in NN 1848. This may imply that Mardašba’s activities typically fell outside the scope of the PF archive. Was he perhaps an official active in the inner circles of the court, whence his involvement with the *šumar* at Uzikraš, a *šumar* that was kept by ‘chamberlains,’ officials who were themselves closely linked to the crown (cf. §§ 4.1.5-6, 4.1.9 above)?

#### 4.5. *The names of Cambyses, Upanduš and Hystaspes*

4.5.1 *Cambyses’ sheepfold* – In NN 2174 the name *Kanbuziya* (OPers. *Kam-būjiya*), ‘Cambyses’ occurs. In the royal inscriptions, the Greek, Babylonian, Aramaic and Egyptian documentation, ‘Cambyses’ is found only as the name of two early Achaemenid kings, Cambyses I and II. The Cambyses of NN 2174 will be either one of these kings, or an otherwise unattested prince.<sup>78</sup> The latter possibility is not very attractive given the silence of other sources. Moreover, the fact that both ‘Cambyses’ and ‘Hystaspes’ (NN 1700) occur associated with a *šumar*, i.e. in a very specific and rare context, is hardly coincidental. There does not seem to be a feasible alternative for the assumption that ‘Cambyses’ is Cambyses II (530-522 BC)<sup>79</sup> and ‘Hystaspes’ is Darius’ father (cf. below § 4.5.3).

One wonders what the editors of the EIW may have imagined when they introduced the “Schafstall (?) des Kambyses und der [Frau] Hubanduš” in their entry on *šumar*. Cambyses had been dead for over twenty years when NN 2174 was written. If ‘sheepfold’ or ‘sheep house’ were the correct translation of *šumar*, there are essentially two possibilities. The first is that the sheepfold once owned by Cambyses had retained its old name. This is not very likely though: it is possible that the private estates of Cambyses continued to exist after his death, but they would have been owned by the new king or other members of the royal family and would have been referred to by the names of their new owners (if only by the PF administrators). One may compare the estates of Parysatis in Achaemenid Babylonia, which are only known as such throughout Parysatis’ lifetime. A second possibility would be that ‘the sheepfold of Cambyses’ referred to a special brand of small cattle, but it seems rather anachronistic to think of

<sup>78</sup> It can hardly be the name of a commoner, since royal names seem to have been restricted to members of the ruling dynasty.

<sup>79</sup> Hinting at this possibility: Brosius 1996: 145 with n. 56.

such an Achaemenid equivalent of our King Charles spaniels or (Dutch) Queen Wilhelmina peppermint. In other words, I do not see how a ‘Schafstall (?) des Kambyses’ could be explained in the context of the PF archive.

4.5.2. *Small cattle and other offerings for Cambyses* – Above, the idea that the *šumar* texts, notably NN 2174 and Fort. 2512, concerned regular offerings at/for various *šumar* has been discussed (§§ 4.3.1-5, 4.4.2). This, in combination with the name of a dead Persian king quickly leads to the idea that the *šumar* was a tomb, grave, burial mound, etc. If so, the occurrence of ‘Cambyses’ would make much more sense. Also, it would fit well with the small cattle provided on a monthly basis: regular offerings of small cattle, horses, wine and grain for dead Persian kings are amply attested in the Greek sources (cf. § 5.2.1 below).

Interestingly, the contents of the letter NN 2174, re-occur in a second letter, PF 1854. In it, Harrena (see above ad NN 2174: 1-2) orders a certain Kurteparša to issue 24 head of cattle to Bakabadda and Pimena:<sup>80</sup> ‘to them issue for (the) *bašur*’ (*ap iddu bašur-na*). The text does not mention a location, but the only other document naming Pimena pertains to Narezzaš (PF 0302, see below). Apart from that, the names of Harrena, Bakabadda and the number of 24 head of small cattle establish a close link between PF 1854 and NN 2174. In fact, by sending a letter to his subordinate (PF 1854), the cattle-chief Harrena followed instructions exactly like those given to him by Parnakka (NN 2174).<sup>81</sup> As PF 1854 is undated, it is uncertain whether it really belongs to the same year as NN 2174, but in any case it deals with a provision of small cattle that echoes the provision commissioned in NN 2174. The only difference is that in NN 2174 the cattle is issued at/for the *šumar* and in PF 1854 ‘for (the) *bašur*.’

Unfortunately, the meaning of *bašur* is unclear; the word is used to qualify (provisions of) small cattle, grain and wine and, given the determinative GIŠ, it must be a concrete object.<sup>82</sup> The contexts in which *bašur* appears are

<sup>80</sup> In PFT: 509, Hallock read ‘m.A(?)-pi-me-na,’ noting that A was written over an erasure. A the marginalia to his private copy of PFT (on p. 509 and glossary s.vv. Apimena, Pimena) show, he later corrected this to ‘m.Pi-me-na,’ the same person as in PF 0302.

<sup>81</sup> Bakabadda *cum suis* (NN 2174, Fort. 2512) is now specified: Bakabadda and Pimena (PF 1854). Cf. above ad NN 2174: 4.

<sup>82</sup> Flour: PF 0326; PF 0837; NN 0014; NN 0030; NN 0825 (always with Mannunda and Ummardada as recipients); small cattle: PF 1854; NN 2259: 19-20; wine: PF 0302 (see below). As *bašur* qualifies flour, small cattle and wine, the suggestion that it would be “Weizen (einer besonderen Art?)” (EIW s.v. GIŠ.ba-šu-ur) is unlikely, though not entirely impossible. Hallock considered the possibility that the word should not be read GIŠ.ba-šu-ur, but GIŠ.ba-šu-taš (PFT: 676).

not particularly helpful, apart from PF 0302, which records the provision of wine by Zaukiza to Pimena, '(which) he dedicated/offered (?) for/at (the) *bašur* of Cambyzes' (*bašur Kanbuziya-na ha-girašda*), at Narezzaš, 24<sup>th</sup> year.<sup>83</sup> This text is obviously highly significant for both NN 2174 and PF 1854 as it records the receipt of wine for doing something with/for the *bašur* (cf. PF 1854) of *Cambyzes* at the place *Narezzaš* (cf. NN 2174). The period is not indicated, but the amount of wine, 120 quarts, suggests 12 months and parallels the 2x12 head of small cattle for 12 months in NN 2174. The most obvious interpretation is that the wine was intended for offerings for the dead king Cambyzes too.

The formulations *bašur Kanbuziya-na ha-girašda* (PF 1854) and *ap iddu bašur-na* (PF 0302) parallel that of NN 2174: *ap iddu ... šumar Kanbuziya-na*. Whereas <sup>AS</sup>*šu-ma-ir* may refer to the tomb, burial mound, etc. as a locale, <sup>GIS</sup>*ba-šu-ur* might be a container, table, altar or similar manufactured object wherein or whereon the offerings were put.<sup>84</sup> As long as the term *bašur* is not better understood this remains, however, a mere conjecture.

<sup>83</sup> The EIW (s.v. *GIS.ba-šu-ur*) has "Kambyzes-Weizen (einer besonderen Art?) hat er dafür angebaut (?)." Again, like in the case of the "Schafstall (?) des Kambyzes" (cf. § 4.5.1 above), I fail to envisage 'Cambyzes wheat' without running into anachronisms. As for *ha-girašda*: the interpretation of the EIW (s.v. *gi-ra-iš-da*) "er hat, sie haben ... angebaut" does not rest on any external evidence. My interpretation 'dedicated/offered' is based on the assumption that the root *gira-* is the verbal cognate of the nominal root *giri-*, which occurs mainly in religious contexts in Middle Elamite texts. The matter is too complex to be treated in extenso here. I merely refer to Malbran-Labat's characterisation of *giri-*: "Cette base exprime les relations culturelles entre le dieu et son dévot dans l'accomplissement de ses devoirs religieux." Accordingly, she translated the form *girima* as "par (ma) dévotion" (Malbran-Labat 1995: 76-7; cf. 202). Grillot & Vallat 1984: 22-3 translate the same form as "avec gratitude." In DB-elam. III: 68, *kirir Uramazdara* is interpreted as "moi en tant que fidèle d'Uramazda" (Grillot-Susini, Herrenschildt & Malbran-Labat 1993: 56 with n. 150). In the Neo-Elamite Acropole archive, *giri-* seems to occur in profane contexts as well (see EIW s.v. *gi-ri-h*). See also EIW s.vv. *gi-ri*, *gi-ri-be-ip*, *gi-ri-ip*, *gi-ri-ma*, *gi-ri-ma-pu*, *gi-ri-na*, *gi-ri-ni*, *gir-ip*, *gi-ri-pa*, *gi-ri-pi*, *gi-ri-pu-up* (with more literature). Apart from PF 0302, the form *ha-girašda* occurs only in NN 2259: 19-20 (the lines are badly broken). A man named Kusa and a woman named Utur receive 144 head (!) of small cattle [x x] *bašur ha-girašda* during 11 (*recte* 12) months. It is not clear whether this journal entry concerns an offering of some sort (as all the preceding entries in the journal do). For *ha-* in *ha-girašda* see above ad NN 1700: 10.

<sup>84</sup> It is tempting to link *bašur* to the portable platform that played a major role in the royal funeral cult and on which a fire altar and incense-burners stood (Calmeyer 1973: 143-6; 1975a: 233-4), but without further support such a connection remains hazardous.

Finally, two more texts PF 0769 and NN 1262, should be mentioned here. These documents record the receipt of respectively 120 quarts of figs (24<sup>th</sup> year) and 120 quarts of wine (25<sup>th</sup> year) by the *makuš* Piršamarda at Narezzaš. The commodities are issued for *daušiyam lan-na*, a 'lan-offering'.<sup>85</sup> Piršamarda may have performed this offering on a monthly basis, during one year, as the amounts of figs and wine suggest. This, and the fact that he was stationed in Narezzaš, offers the tantalising possibility that these offerings too are related to the *šumar* of Cambyzes and Upanduš (NN 2174), or that of Zišunduš (Fort. 2512). The activity of *magoi* performing offerings on the tomb of Cyrus is documented by the Greek sources (cf. § 5.2.1 below).

4.5.3. *Upanduš and Phaedyme* – Cambyzes and the woman Upanduš, both named in NN 2174, are likely to have been related by family or marriage ties. In fact, there is a candidate among the royal women known from Greek sources: Φαίδυμή (var. Φαίδύμη), daughter of Otanes and married to Cambyzes II (Hdt. III.68-9; referred to in III.88). On this name R. Schmitt (1967: 138 n. 138) remarked: "der Name [...] scheint im Anlaut irgendwie an griech. φαίδιμος 'glänzend' assimiliert zu sein."

Upanduš is the Elamite rendition (with added -š, cf. above § 3.2) of OPers. *\*(H)ubandū-* ('with good kinship,' Tavernier 2002: 482 [8.2.744]). That the initial *(h)u-* could disappear in transcription appears from the name *\*(H)uparviyā-* which is rendered *Uparmiya* in Elamite (PF 0309) but Πάρμυς in Greek.<sup>86</sup> In the PF archive occurs a man called Ubađu[...] (<sup>HAL</sup>*ú-ba-ḏu*<sup>1</sup>-[x]; NN 0364), whose name may well be a variant of 'Upanduš'.<sup>87</sup> The existence of this variant could account for the loss of the -n- in Greek transcription.<sup>88</sup>

<sup>85</sup> I do not believe that *daušiyam lan-na* was restricted to a particular god or cult as has been claimed by various scholars; it is just the technical term for a certain ritual and could well have been used for offerings at the tomb of a Persian king. Definite answers cannot be given, however, without an extensive study on *lan-offering* (cf. above n. 65).

<sup>86</sup> Lewis 1984: 599; Brosius 1996: 145. For the name: Tavernier 2002: 488 [8.2.795]. The loss of the initial element *(h)u-*, 'good,' may have been caused by abbreviation of the name, possibly under influence of parallel names based on the same central element, but lacking the initial *(h)u-*. For *Uparmiya* (*\*(H)u-parv-iyā*) compare *Parmiyana* (e.g. NN 0938, from OPers. *\*Par(u)v-ya-āna-*; see *ibid.* 538 [8.2.1203]). For *Upanduš* (*\*(H)ubandū-*) compare *Pandušašša* (PF 0784; < *\*bandu-xšaça-*; *ibid.* 432 [8.2.309]).

<sup>87</sup> Tavernier 2002: 482 [8.2.742]. Male and female persons sometimes have the same names. Thus, apart from queen Irtašduna (Artystone), there is also a male individual with the same name (PF 1128; PF 1184; NN 0132; NN 1337; NN 1549).

<sup>88</sup> Although -n- before spirants and stops was not written in Old Persian cuneiform, this does not indicate that it was not spoken (cf. the Babylonian and Elamite versions of the

In short, something like \*Παδύ(μ)η might have been the original Greek rendering of \*(H)ubandū-, before popular etymology changed it to Φαίδυμή/Φαίδύμη. If this should prove to be correct, NN 2174 concerns the *šumar* of king Cambyses II and one of his wives, Phaedyne.

4.5.4. *Hystaspes* – Contrary to ‘Cambyses’ (NN 2174), there is more than one possible candidate for ‘Hystaspes’ (NN 1700), at least at first sight. Apart from the father of Darius I, there is a Hystaspes II (son of Darius I and Atossa) who in theory could have been referred to in NN 1700.<sup>89</sup> Yet, at the date of NN 1700, Darius’ 23<sup>rd</sup> year (499/498 BC), Hystaspes II can hardly have been more than 20 years of age. This holds all the more true if Herodotus is right in his claim that Hystaspes’ II older brother Xerxes was born *after* Darius became king and would have been 22 or younger in Darius’ 23<sup>rd</sup> year. The father of Darius thus remains the only likely candidate for the ‘Hystaspes’ in NN 1700.<sup>90</sup>

A second question posed by NN 1700 is that of the date of Hystaspes’ death. If the ‘*šumar* of Hystaspes’ refers, as I think, to his tomb, grave, burial mound, etc., with its caretakers (*šumar nuškip*) apparently in active service, Hystaspes must have been dead by the 23<sup>rd</sup> year of Darius. Now, the date of his passing away has been much discussed on the basis of the absence of his name in the prayer at the end of DSz compared with its presence in the parallel passage in DSf. It has been claimed that a precise date, 515/514 BC or 519/518 BC, could be established by comparing these and other inscriptions.<sup>91</sup> Yet, as Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg stressed repeatedly, too much reliance on the documentary value of the Achaemenid royal inscriptions is hazardous at best. As I have argued elsewhere, the contention that DSf and DSz are two separate inscriptions, each with its own historical context, rests on various uncertainties as does the assumption that the absence of Hystaspes’ name necessarily indicates his passing away.<sup>92</sup> The royal inscriptions inform us that Hystaspes was alive and in

inscriptions; Kent 1953: 39 [§ 111]). Normally, -n- before stops in Iranian names is represented in Greek transcription, but even without the support of the form Ubadu[...], the loss of the -n- from \*(H)ubandū- would not constitute a major problem.

<sup>89</sup> Hystaspes III, third son of Xerxes I and Amestris (Diod. XI.69.2), was probably not born at the date of NN 1700 (Darius’ 23<sup>rd</sup> year) and can be ruled out with certainty.

<sup>90</sup> As in the case of ‘Cambyses,’ I think it is likely that the names of the kings and leading members of the ruling dynasty were taboo for commoners from the moment that they were used as royal names. As far as I know, no Cyrus, Darius, Xerxes or Artaxerxes has been attested outside the royal family.

<sup>91</sup> Steve 1974: 168-9; Vallat 1986: 281 with previous literature.

<sup>92</sup> Henkelman 2003: 281-3; cf. the critical remarks by Grilot 1990 on DSf/DSz. On the purported documentary nature of the royal inscriptions see Sancisi-Weerdenburg 2002.

active duty at the time of Darius’ ascension to the throne,<sup>93</sup> but they leave us empty-handed when it comes to establishing whether Hystaspes was still alive 23 years later, at the time NN 1700 was written (499/498 BC).

There are in total seven PF texts that mention the name Hystaspes (cf. above ad NN 1700: 6). Two of these do not concern the nobleman himself, but the ‘people of the house of Hystaspes’ and his daughters.<sup>94</sup> NN 2097 is an undated label (receipts by Hystaspes). NN 1059: 32-35 records travel rations for a registrar [and] seven pages who is on his way to Hystaspes in the 21<sup>st</sup> or early in the 22<sup>nd</sup> year. NN 2290 has two entries (ll. 19-20, 21-2) on a party travelling from Media to Persepolis in the 19<sup>th</sup> year and carrying a sealed document (*halmi*) from Hystaspes.

The dated tablets attest that Hystaspes was still alive in the 19<sup>th</sup> (503/502 BC) and even in 21<sup>st</sup> year (501/500 BC). At that time he must have been in his eighties and it seems justified to assume that he did not live for many more years. He may have died in or after the 21<sup>st</sup> and before the 23<sup>rd</sup> year, as I assume; the available evidence (apart from NN 1700) neither supports nor contradicts this assumption.<sup>95</sup>

4.5.5. *Zišunduš* – Not much can be said about *Zišunduš*, whose *šumar* is mentioned in Fort. 2512. The yearly number of two head of small cattle provided for his *šumar* is modest compared to the 2x12 head for the *šumar* of

<sup>93</sup> DB II: 93-8; III: 1-9; XPF 19-21.

<sup>94</sup> Palace servants: PF 1596 (with PFa 20 on the same group); see Hallock 1978: 112; Hinz 1975: 268; Tavernier 2002: 701 [8.4.23.122]. Princesses, daughters of Hystaspes: PFa 31: 13-6; see Hallock 1978: 115. Note that the existence of both groups is an additional argument that the young Hystaspes II could not have been meant.

<sup>95</sup> The tablets on Hystaspes certainly merit further study. Caution is warranted when trying to reconstruct the events behind these texts. It is therefore with considerable hesitation that I propose the following scenario. In the last years of his life, Hystaspes retreated to Media (Ekbatana, an estate?), the travel party coming from Media with a viaticum sealed by Hystaspes may have been that of an personal envoy (NN 2290: 19-20; 21-22). Hystaspes may have died in the 22<sup>nd</sup> year (500/499); his body laid to rest in or near Persepolis (NN 1700). For this occasion, his daughters travelled from Media to Persepolis in the 22<sup>nd</sup> year (PFa 31: 13-6). After his death his household was abolished, hence the large group of travelling ‘people of the house of Hystaspes’ (or ‘palace-servants of Hystaspes’), probably on their way to the court, in the 23<sup>rd</sup> year (PF 1596; PFa 20). Whether or not Hystaspes died in an accident at the site of his son’s tomb in the rockface of the ‘Smooth Mountain,’ must, in the absence of any corroboration for Ctesias’ colourful story (FGrH 688 F 13 § 19 = Phot. *Bibl.* LXXII pp. 38a-b Bekker), remain uncertain. See Calmeyer 1975b: 109-10 on the passage.



Cambyes and Upanduš (cf. §§ 4.3.2-3 above), so he may have been a lesser member of the Teispian or Achaemenid house. As far as I can see, there has been no attempt thus far to identify any of the Persians known from Greek sources as Zišunduš. Incidentally, Zišunduš would not be the first member of the royal family who escaped Greek attention: Irdabama, a royal woman whose position must have been considerable, is also unattested outside the PF archive (cf. above 4.2.4 with n. 52).

### 5. The pieces of the puzzle

In the previous paragraphs the evidence on Achaemenid Elamite *šumar* and the contexts in which it occurs have been evaluated. The insights gained from this can now be compared with and supplemented by some additional thoughts on the etymology of *šumar* (§ 5.1), the relevant Greek evidence (§§ 5.2.1-2) and the archaeological documentation (§§ 5.3.1-2). In a final paragraph (§ 5.4) the principal findings will be summarised to offer a coherent picture.

5.1. *The etymology of šumar, once more* – The following arguments were adduced above to show that the interpretation ‘Schafstall’ proposed by the EIW for *šumar* is untenable:

- An etymology based on Avestan *pasu-* (*fšu-* in compounds), ‘(small) cattle’ is unlikely, the required original form *\*fšumar* or *\*fšuar* is inexplicable (§ 3.2).
- The PF archive has a different word to denote a sheepfold, *baribataš*, from OPers. *\*paribāda-*, ‘protective enclosure’ (§ 3.2).
- NN 1700 and NN 1848 do not mention small cattle at all, NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 speak not of small cattle in the *šumar*, but delivered to it, or to the people acting as its keepers (§ 3.1). If the transfers were intended to supplement an existing flock, one would have expected larger numbers of small cattle being sent in one single operation, not in small monthly provisions (§ 4.3.6).
- The involvement of ‘chamberlains’ (NN 1848), holders of a prestigious court title, in the keeping of a sheepfold would be unparalleled in the Elamite and Babylonian documentation on these officials – all the available texts suggest that they held high positions closely linked to the crown (§ 4.1.9).
- The servants in NN 1700 and NN 1848 do not constitute regular *kurtāš* workforces, as expected at a sheepfold. The groups are not ‘under responsibility’ or ‘assigned by’ a senior official and appear alone in the ration lists (§ 4.2.2). Their profile is that of ‘elite servant taskgroups’ (§ 4.2.5).
- The fact that the four *šumar* texts are letters by Parnakka or Ziššawiš suggests that something more special than a ‘sheepfold’ is at stake (§§ 4.4.1-2).

- The designations ‘sheepfold of Cambyes [II]’ (NN 2174) or ‘sheepfold of Hystaspes [father of Darius]’ (NN 1700) are unparalleled and hardly explicable in the context of the PF archive, especially since Cambyes and plausibly Hystaspes were no longer alive at the time (§§ 4.5.1, 4.5.4).

Given these considerations, the interpretation ‘Schafstall’ for *šumar* should definitely be abandoned. Instead ‘tomb,’ ‘grave,’ ‘mound,’ etc. has been suggested on the basis of the arguments defended in this paper (cf. § 5.4 below).

Unfortunately, an alternative etymology for *šumar* does not immediately suggest itself, but the direction in which it should be sought may be indicated. An Iranian etymology cannot be ruled out completely, but Bartholomae’s *Altiranisches Wörterbuch* does not seem to provide possible cognates. The Elamite lexicon, on the other hand, is promising as *šumar* appears in various place names, notably <sup>AS</sup>*šu-ma-ru* and <sup>AS</sup>*šu-mar-rák-še-ši*; the element *-akše/i* in the latter name is well-attested in Middle, Neo- and Achaemenid Elamite proper names.<sup>96</sup> Šumaru and Šumarakše/i are known from the PF archive only, but the places appear to be situated in former Elamite territory,<sup>97</sup> again suggesting that the names are Elamite rather than Iranian.<sup>98</sup>

It is impossible at present to establish the precise meaning of *šumar*. If it means something like, ‘tomb,’ ‘grave,’ etc., it would not be surprising to find the same element in place names. The many villages in modern Iran that have *emāmzādeh* in their name may attest to this. Alternatively, the word *šumar* may originally have meant something like ‘hill’ or ‘mound’ (in GNs), whence the meaning ‘(burial) mound,’ ‘tomb’ developed. Such a development certainly would not be unparalleled.

<sup>96</sup> See Stolper 1984b: 50 ad 3f. and EIW s.vv. *ak-sir*, [*ak*]-*še-ir*, hw.*ak-si-in.ki-li-ik*, etc. The EIW (s.v. h.*šu-ma-ir.ak-ši*) interpreted Šumarakše/i as ‘Schafstall-Leitung(?)’ ‘Schafstall’ has to be rejected on the basis of the discussion of *šumar* in this paper, but ‘Leitung’ is debatable as well and it may be wiser to stick to Stolper’s characterisation (*loc.cit.*) of the verb stem *akši-* as denoting “a benign activity.” Another GN containing this element: <sup>AS</sup>*ba-har-ak-ši-ri* in MDP 9 24: 8; 207: 6-7 (see Vallat 1993: 31).

<sup>97</sup> Šumaru: Koch 1990: 91 n. 398, 168-9 with references; Šumarakše: Koch 1990: 163, 242, 297-8; Vallat 1993: 263 with references.

<sup>98</sup> Possibly, the place-name <sup>AS</sup>*šu-mur-tan-du-ri* contains an element related to *šumar*; the same might be true for <sup>AS</sup>*šá-mar-šu-šu*. Both these places are attested in late Neo-Elamite texts and should plausibly be located in the Elamite territory of eastern Khūzestān/western Fārs (see Vallat 1993: 253, 263 and EIW s.vv.).

5.2.1. *The Greek sources: sacrifices and magoi* – Two passages from the works of Arrian and Strabo (both based on Aristoboulus) offer some details on funeral sacrifices for Persian kings:<sup>99</sup>

“The tomb of Cyrus was in the territory of the Pasargadae, in the royal park [...]. Within the enclosure, and lying on the approach of the tomb itself, was a small building put up for the Magians, who were guardians of Cyrus’ tomb, from as long ago as Cambyses, son of Cyrus, receiving this guardianship from father to son. To them was given from the King a sheep a day, an allowance of meal and wine, and a horse each month, to sacrifice to Cyrus.” (Arr. VI.29.4-7 transl. E.I. Robson)

“Here he [Alexander] saw also, in a park, the tomb of Cyrus [...] the tomb was surrounded by a guard of Magi, who received for their maintenance a sheep every day and a horse every month.” (Strabo XV.3.7 transl. H.L. Jones)

A passage from the *Persae* describes the sacrifices at Darius’ tomb (Xerxes’ mother is speaking):

“[...] from the house I bring  
To my son’s sire in peace this offering,  
Meet to appease the dim hearts of the dead:  
White milk and sweet from kine unblemished  
Pale honey that the blossom-thieves distil;  
With water blended from a virgin rill;  
And here, true offspring of a mother wild,  
And ancient vine’s bright essence undefiled;  
And she whose leaves make spring of all the year,  
The olive, lo, her fragrant fruit is here,  
And Earth’s fair children, flowers engarlanded.  
Friends, with such song as worship of the dead  
Beseems, make music, calling from his grave  
Darius the Great Spirit, to rise and save, [...]”

(Aeschylus *Persae* vv. 608-21 transl. G. Murray)

From these sources it appears that the *magoi* were responsible for the keeping of Cyrus’ tomb and that their office was hereditary. According to Arrian their daily allowance of one sheep came from the king directly. Arrian and Strabo

<sup>99</sup> For a full treatment of the sources see Kuhrt 1995 II: 684-5; HEP: 106-8; 923 – Briant already establishes a firm link between the Greek evidence and the PF documentation.

seem to suggest that only the monthly horse was sacrificed for Cyrus, the sheep, grain and wine were for the *magoi*’s own maintenance. Aeschylus, on the other hand, describes a bloodless sacrifice of milk, honey, water, wine, olive-oil and flowers at the tomb of Darius.

The four *šumar* texts discussed in this paper accord well with the Greek evidence. NN 1700 and NN 1848 regulate monthly rations of flour and grain to the keepers of a *šumar* (§ 4.3.1; cf. the provisions for the *magoi*); NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 provide small cattle that seem to be intended for sacrifices (§ 4.3.3). The case of NN 2174 is the clearest: 2 head of small cattle for the *šumar* of Cambyses and Upanduš monthly; the religious nature of this text seems confirmed by two additional texts (§ 4.5.2). The fact that all these texts concern longer periods, seems to point to regular, monthly offerings as well (§ 4.3.4).

Arrian and Strabo mainly speak of commodities for the maintenance of the *magoi*; only the horses are sacrificed. In the case of the *šumar* texts a very strict differentiation between provisions for offerings and commodities for the maintenance of the *šumar*-keepers and their personnel cannot be upheld (§ 4.3.5); the consumption of consecrated offerings is indeed well attested in the archive. With this in mind, the Greek evidence should be re-evaluated: the sheep and other provisions may have been consecrated at the tomb of Cyrus before they were consumed by the *magoi* and for this reason they should probably be counted as offerings as well. The distinction between the commodities ‘for the maintenance of the *magoi*’ and the sacrificial horses may simply originate from the fact that, unlike the other offerings, the monthly horse was *not* consumed. That other offerings were made, beside horses, is indeed what the passage from Aeschylus (for what it is worth) suggests (milk, honey, etc.).

The provisions were, according to Arrian, sent from the king. If one may take this as ‘from the house of the king,’ i.e. from his private assets, it accords again well with the evidence from the relevant PF texts. The *šumar* texts are letters from Parnakka or his deputy Ziššawiš, the most high-ranking officials in the PF administration (§§ 4.4.1-2); Parnakka may have been ‘chancellor of the house of the king’ (§ 4.1.7.1). The involvement of ‘chamberlains’ likewise suggests a close link between *šumar* and crown (§§ 4.1.5-6; 4.1.9).

Apart from small cattle (NN 2174; Fort. 2512; PF 1854) and grain/flour (NN 1700; NN 1848), there is evidence for the offering of wine for Cambyses (PF 0302; see § 4.5.2). Offerings of horses, water, (olive) oil, milk, honey or flowers are not attested in the *šumar* texts, which is not surprising as these are not mentioned at all as offerings in the PF archive.

The activity of a *maguš*, Piršamarda, is attested at Narezzaš, the place where Cambyses’ *šumar* was located. The quantities of figs and wine received suggest a regular offering during 12 months as do the offerings of small cattle

during 12 months at the *šumar* of Cambyses and Upanduš. The *maguš* may have been making offerings at a *šumar* (§ 4.5.2).

Bakabadda c.s. (i.e. Bakabadda and Pimena) receive small cattle in NN 2174 and Fort. 2512. The former text, in a broken passage, states that they 'are making x (at) the *šumar* of Cambyses and the woman Upanduš at Narezzaš.' It is possible that the passage related the performance of a sacrifice/offering (forms of the verb *hudda*- do occur in such contexts), but this cannot be proven. Also, a Bakabadda, possibly the same individual (cf. above ad NN 2174: 3-4), is attested as the recipient of 9405 quarts of wine at a sanctuary/temple. Another or the same Bakabadda is coined *šatin* 'priest' and receives grain *gal* ('as offering' cf. § 4.3.3 above) for the goddess Išpandaramattiš. In both cases, the places mentioned are not far from Narezzaš. There is at least a theoretical possibility, then, that one and the same Bakabadda acted as a priest for a goddess, received grain at a sanctuary and performed offerings at the *šumar* of Cambyses and Upanduš.

With Bakabadda the *šatin*, 'priest' and the *maguš* Piršamarda we have two cases of individuals with religious designations who were possibly involved in the offerings at the *šumar* at Narezzaš. If so, they would establish a good parallel for the *magoi* mentioned by Arrian and Strabo. It should be stressed though, that the *šumar* texts mainly attest to the involvement of court officials, a situation that we find in the Greek sources as well (cf. § 5.2.2 below).

5.2.2. *The Greek sources: 'eunuchs'* – The Greek sources, notably Ctesias, record the frequent involvement of 'eunuchs' in the funeral arrangements for Persian kings. The actual status of these 'eunuchs' as high-ranking court officials need not be discussed here again (see HEP: 279-88), but it may be fruitful to compare Ctesias' reports with the presence of the 'chamberlains' at a *šumar* (NN 1848) and that of Aspathines at Naqš-e Rostam.<sup>100</sup>

When Cyrus died, Cambyses ordered the eunuch Bagapates to take his father's body εἰς Πέρσας to be buried. According to Ctesias, Bagapates had been "very influential" at Cyrus' court. Similarly, when Cambyses died, his body was returned εἰς Πέρσας by the eunuch Izabates, who is said to have had "great influence" over Cambyses. Thirdly, on the occasion of Darius' death, Ctesias records that "Bagapates, who sat by Darius' tomb for seven years, also passed away." Apparently the same official, the 'eunuch' Bagapates, is meant as the one who served under Cyrus and Cambyses. Finally, when Artaxerxes I and his wife died, their bodies were taken εἰς Πέρσας by Bagorazus. The latter is not

<sup>100</sup> For this paragraph I am heavily indebted to Briant 1991: 4-6; HEP: 182-3, 287, 934.

introduced as 'eunuch,' but the subsequent paragraph implies that Ctesias thought of him as such.<sup>101</sup>

It is not clear how much of the recurring pattern of a 'eunuch' escorting the dead king εἰς Πέρσας is Ctesias' own creation. That one has to apply a certain filter is clear: the 'eunuchs' involved are probably high-ranking court officials; their involvement in the funerary arrangements may have been a traditional duty resulting from their position in the house of the deceased king, not so much the outcome of their 'power' or 'influence'.<sup>102</sup>

Interestingly, the role of highly-placed court officials in the funeral may also have been reflected on the tomb reliefs of the Persian kings, beginning with that of Darius I at Naqš-e Rostam. The upper register of this relief shows Aspathines, Gobryas and five other armed men on the left side of the king's platform as well as six unarmed men, making a gesture that has been interpreted as that of mourning, on the right. The later tomb reliefs all copy this scheme.<sup>103</sup> The idea that the men on the right make a gesture of mourning has been debated, but it is certainly not impossible.<sup>104</sup> Yet regardless of that, the general context, the royal tombs, does indeed suggest that the entourage represented on the reliefs is an elite cortège of high-ranking Persians, including at least two court-officials (Aspathines and Gobryas), gathered to pay homage to the deceased king. The role of Aspathines and Gobryas thus would seem to be close to that of the 'eunuchs' (court officials) mentioned by Ctesias.

In NN 1848 'chamberlains' are mentioned as *šumar*-keepers. As has been discussed above (§§ 4.1.5-6, 4.1.9), this title points to high-ranking court officials. Now, Aspathines, identified as the 'royal chancellor' and represented on the tomb relief of Darius (§ 4.1.7.1), is introduced (in DNd) as 'chamberlain'

<sup>101</sup> Cyrus: Ctes. FGrH 688 F 13 § 9 = Phot. *Bibl.* LXXII p. 37a Bekker; Cambyses: Ctes. FGrH 688 F 13 § 15 = Phot. *Bibl.* LXXII p. 38a Bekker; Darius: Ctesias FGrH 688 F 13 § 23 = Phot. *Bibl.* LXXII p. 38b Bekker; Artaxerxes: Ctesias FGrH 688 F 15 §§ 47-9 = Phot. *Bibl.* LXXII pp. 41b-42a Bekker.

<sup>102</sup> The correct reading of Ctesias' statements was already given by Lion in his invaluable 1823 edition of the *Persica*: "nobilissimi scilicet Persae regis funus sequi et custodire solebant" (1823: 29 n. 't').

<sup>103</sup> There are small variations in the number of the armed and unarmed men.

<sup>104</sup> Schmidt 1970: 84 and *passim* accepts the figures on the right of the relief without reservation as mourners, an idea that was already hinted at by Herzfeld 1941: 263 and defended by Calmeyer 1975a: 234 with. n. 13. *Contra*: Root 1979: 178-9 (though admitting the possibility). See also HEP: 183: "certains [personnages], dépourvus d'armes, figurent peut-être métaphoriquement le deuil officiel de la cour." Obviously, the argument would be much stronger, if the scene on the tomb relief could be proven to be a ritual for the deceased king performed by his successor (see i.a. Calmeyer o.c.).

as well. In the light of what has been said above, this is probably no coincidence; to my mind, the three sources describe more or less the same feature of Persian funerary customs. Ctesias mentions the involvement of court officials in the funeral of the king, the tomb reliefs show an elite cortège including the 'spearbearer' and the 'chamberlain' and NN 1848 again mentions a group of 'chamberlains' that are keeping a *šumar*, identified in this paper as a tomb, grave or burial mound.

One point needs be stressed once more: Ctesias' claim that Bagapates sat by Darius' tomb for *seven years* (see above). The Greek (παράκαθίσας) should not be taken literally: Bagapates hardly *sat* besides the tomb for seven years.<sup>105</sup> Rather, the story seems to indicate that Bagapates was keeping or guarding the tomb; most translators have indeed accepted this supposition and have avoided literal translations ('guarding' instead of 'sitting').<sup>106</sup> In fact, I think that Bagapates' activity may be identical to that of the *šumar nuškip*, 'keepers of the tomb, grave, etc.' in the *šumar* texts. There is evidence (NN 1848) that the *šumar nuškip*, like Bagapates, were high-ranking court officials. In fact, there is a tantalising possibility that the *Bagapates* who was 'eunuch' under Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius, is in fact identical to the *Bagabadda* who is tending the *šumar* of Cambyses and Upanduš and Hystaspes (NN 2174; Fort. 2512). Yet, we may wonder whether Ctesias' statement can be relied upon to such a degree; the author is notorious for mixing up and inventing quasi-Persian names. Moreover, the popularity of the name makes it very hard to exclude homonymy (cf. above ad NN 2174: 3-4).

In sum, the Greek evidence corresponds quite well with what has been said about the *šumar*: the provisions, from the king, of commodities for regular sacrifices, possibly the involvement of *magoi* and especially the role of court officials. The latter bring to mind the pontifical court once more, as one may envisage important 'chamberlains,' like Aspathines, to have played a role similar to that of the *camerlengo*, whose duties include verifying the pontiff's death and arranging for his funeral (cf. § 4.1.8 above).

<sup>105</sup> Calmeyer 1975: 100 suggests that Bagapates – in Ctesias' story – actually sat, as a true stylite, on the small ridge of Darius' tomb for seven years.

<sup>106</sup> Compare Bagorazus, who was stoned for leaving the body of the dead Artaxerxes (Ctesias FGrH 688 F 15 §§ 49 = Phot. *Bibl.* LXXII p. 42a Bekker). My understanding of Photius' epitome is that Bagorazus first took care of the transport of the bodies of Artaxerxes, Damaschia and their son Xerxes, and that his absence from the side of the dead Artaxerxes occurred at a later occasion (similarly Calmeyer 1975b: 100 n. 7).

5.3.1. *The 'tomb of Cambyses'* – A stone platform known as the Takht-e Rustam or Takht-e Gohar is situated half-way between Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam. The correspondence of its base measurements with that of the tomb of Cyrus at Pasargadae has led to the assumption that it was devised as a copy of the latter, but that, for some reason, the Takht-e Rustam was left unfinished: the platform does not support a 'house' as in the case of Cyrus' tomb.<sup>107</sup>

Ever since Herzfeld's emphatic claim that the Takht-e Rustam "[...] was intended for the tomb of Cambyses" (1941: 214), the latter king has been associated with the structure.<sup>108</sup> At the same time, all commentators agree that the structure was left unfinished so that one has to assume that Cambyses' body must have been laid to rest somewhere else. Ctesias is indeed probably right when he indicates that after his death, Cambyses' body was taken εἰς Πέρσας (cf. above § 5.2.2). As a principle, there seems to be no objection to locating Cambyses' tomb somewhere else in Fārs.

Furthermore, it may be noted that even the contention that the Takht-e Rustam was *intended* for Cambyses is debatable. The structure is generally taken to postdate Pasargadae and to predate Persepolis. This means that while its construction can be attributed Cambyses II, it could just as well be attributed to Bardiya. Cambyses was the last legitimate ruler preceding Darius, at least in the latter's own propaganda. In the case of a regular succession, conducting one's predecessor's funeral was, as Briant has demonstrated (1991: 4-5), a pivotal opportunity for Achaemenid kings to stress the transfer of power and the legitimacy of their kingship. Darius did not have this opportunity, but he surely would have taken the chance of presenting himself as legitimate successor by finishing Cambyses' tomb and, if necessary, transferring Cambyses' embalmed body from a provisional tomb to the Takht-e Rustam.<sup>109</sup> Thus, the unfinished state of the Takht-e Rustam is, especially in view of Darius' tumultuous accession, hardly reconcilable with the idea that it was intended for Cambyses. An attribution to Bardiya could, on the other hand, explain the tomb's unfinished state: Bardiya's reign would have been too short for the tomb to be finished and after the overthrow of the 'rebel' the new ruler, Darius, would have had every reason for *damnatio memoriae*, i.e. leave the tomb unfinished.

There seems to be no reason to deny the possibility that Cambyses' tomb was located somewhere else in Fārs. There is a certain complication,

<sup>107</sup> On the Takht-e Rustam and the adjacent Achaemenid palace see esp. Kleiss 1971; Tilia 1978: 73-80; Stronach 1978: 302-4; *idem* 1989: 483-4.

<sup>108</sup> Compare also Herzfeld 1935: 36, "I take it for granted that this incomplete tomb is that of Cambyses."

<sup>109</sup> Embalming: Hdt. 1.140; Strabo XV.3.20; Curt. X.10.13.

though, in a remark by F. Krefter, who investigated and took apart most of the Takht-e Rustam in 1933:<sup>110</sup>

“Interessant und bis heute kaum beachtet ist die Tatsache, daß in der Grundrißmitte der zweitobersten Schicht dieses Sockels ein Doppelgrab eingebaut war, und daß in einem Grab ein goldener Anhänger achaemenidischer Arbeit gelegen hatte, ganz ähnlich der Art, wie David Stronach sie bei seinen Grabungen in Pasargadae in den sechziger Jahren gefunden hat.” (Krefter 1979: 24)

The graves are clearly visible on Taf. 7.3 of Krefter's publication. Curiously, Herzfeld, the director of the excavations, nowhere refers to the graves or the pendant.<sup>111</sup> Now, as I read it, Krefter does not state that actual human remains were found in the 'Doppelgrab,' but the piece of jewelry is of course significant. Also remarkable is the fact that the graves (if that is what they really are) were made in the core of the platform, thus suggesting a mode of burying that was very different from Cyrus' tomb (the king's embalmed body placed in the 'house'). Does this mean that the Takht-e Rustam should, after all, be regarded as a complete and finished construction? From the surface of some of the blocks and the incompleteness of the upper layer of the core it would appear that it is not, but proper research is very much needed to establish this. If incomplete, it remains debatable whether the Takht-e Rustam was Cambyses' tomb given the argument adduced above. Moreover, if the tomb were devised as a mere platform, i.e. a relatively modest structure (compared to Cyrus' tomb), it could just as well have been built for a member of the nobility. One may, for example, think of Darius' father Hystaspes whose *šumar* was indeed located at Persepolis (NN 1700). This possibility would accord well with Roaf's suggestion that the Takht-e Rustam dates to the early reign of Darius.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>110</sup> I owe the reference to Ursula Seidl.

<sup>111</sup> Herzfeld 1935: 37 indicates only that the structure had been inspected for [foundation] documents (cf. 1941: 214). Schmidt 1970: 42 remarks: “regrettably, Herzfeld gutted the core of the platform in fruitless search for documents but failed to excavate the adjacent soil [...]” No graves or finds are mentioned by Schmidt (cf. 1953: 3, 56-7) and neither are the purported graves referred to in more recent publications relating to the Takht-e Rustam (Roaf 1983: 150; Stronach 1989: 483-4; Kleiss 1996). After Krefter and his team took apart most of the structure in 1933, it was reassembled by the IsMEO team in 1975, but no record of the reconstruction or a description of the purported graves is given in Tilia 1972, 1974 or 1978.

<sup>112</sup> See Roaf 1983: 150, on the basis of “the toothed tool marks on the anathyrosis and the clamp types” (*ibid.* n. 185). Obviously, if it were Hystaspes' tomb, one would have to establish beyond doubt that the Takht-e Rustam is a finished construction.

5.3.2. *The tomb of Cambyses (bis)* – NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 locate the *šumar* of Cambyses, Upanduš and Zišunduš at Narezzaš, which is generally identified with modern Niriz in south-eastern Fārs (cf. above ad NN 2174: 8). If this identification is correct, one has to assume that the modern town was built on the old settlement, since no visible ancient remains have been reported. Sir Aurel Stein, however, who stayed in Niriz from April 8<sup>th</sup> through 13<sup>th</sup> 1934, reported some pre-Islamic pottery, which he found “on a stretch of waste ground about 3 miles to the north of the town.” According to Stein the fragments “suggested a site occupied in early historic times.”<sup>113</sup> Whether the site described by Stein may have been inhabited in early Achaemenid times remains unclear – there are no modern (published) surveys of the Niriz area.<sup>114</sup> In the wider area around Niriz, however, Achaemenid presence is well-established, particularly by the impressive and undoubtedly important stronghold of Tell-e Zohak near Fasā. A survey by de Miroschedji showed that modest Achaemenid settlement also occurred in the plain of Darab (1990: 52).<sup>115</sup>

There does not seem to be a formal objection to the idea that Cambyses was buried, with his wife, in or near Narezzaš/Niriz. The tomb, if a stone structure, may already have disappeared in antiquity; perhaps its remains are yet to be discovered. In this context, it should be noted that not all Achaemenid royal or princely burials involved structures like Cyrus' tomb and we have to reckon with the possibility that notably Zišunduš' *šumar* was just a grave or subterranean tomb covered with an earthen burial mound. The Greek sources report on such burial mounds for (noble) Persians. Two examples from southern Iran have become known thus far, both with a bronze coffin placed in a subterranean stone chamber. The first case is that of the late-Achaemenid tomb found in Susa by de Morgan, which contained rich funerary deposits that leave no doubt as to the princely status of the inhabitant. The second tomb which was discovered in 1982 at Arğān and which belonged to “Kidīn-Hutran son of

<sup>113</sup> Stein 1936: 204, “[...] plentiful potsherds, mostly plain [...]. The painted fragments, all of coarse, pink body and mostly having a light cream-coloured slip, showed only coarsely drawn linear patterns, very different from the painted pottery of the chalcolithic sites previously examined. Fragments of broad-ribbed plain ware and of handles were also picked up. These fragments suggested a site occupied in early historic times. But in view of the eroded condition of the ground, I did not invite a trial excavation.” Compare also Sumner 1986: 19, 22-3.

<sup>114</sup> As Rémy Boucharlat kindly informs me.

<sup>115</sup> Tell-e Zohak: Hansman 1975; Pohanka 1983; de Miroschedji 1990: 52, 64. Although situated much further to the east, the Iron IV platforms of Tepe Yahya are perhaps not without relevance too; see Lamberg-Karlovsky & Magee 1999.

Kurluš" dates to the period just before the Achaemenid empire and again contained a rich inventory of objects. It is not unlikely that one or several *šumar* mentioned in the PF texts were tombs of the the Susa and Arġān type.<sup>116</sup>

5.4. *Šumar: a memorial monument?* – In the preceeding paragraphs the contention that *šumar* means 'Schafstall' has been critically examined, resulting in the conclusion that this interpretation is highly unlikely (see the summary in § 5.1 above). At the same time, the alternative possibility that *šumar* refers to a tomb, grave or burial mound has been examined on the basis of contextual evidence which in turn has been confronted with additional information from the Greek sources. The main results may be summarised as follows:

- The occurrence of *lip̄te kutip akkabe šumar nuškip*, 'chamberlains who (are) keepers of the *šumar*' (NN 1848) suggests a direct link to the crown. The elevated status of the 'chamberlains' appears from the Elamite and the Babylonian documentation (§§ 4.1.5-6). In the case of Aspathines (DNd) it may even be the formal expression of his purported position as 'chancellor of the house of the king,' a position confirmed by his insignium and the parallel with Šuturu on the Neo-Elamite Kül-e Farah I relief and inscriptions (§§ 4.1.7.1-2).
- The occurrence of *libap*, 'servants' (NN 1700, NN 1848) also attests to the extraordinary status of the *šumar*. The *libap* in the relevant texts have a profile that corresponds to that of 'elite servant taskgroups,' who were invariably attached to the upper echelon of Persian nobility, apparently as a professional, independently operating entourage (§§ 4.2.4-5).
- The periods during which flour and grain are issued (NN 1700; NN 1848) are exceptional among texts with the same supply officials; the only comparable text concerns a regular offering during 12 months (§ 4.3.1). Similarly, the provisions of small cattle in NN 2174 and Fort. 2512, both during 12 months, find their closest parallel in a text concerning small cattle for a regular sacrifice (§§ 4.3.2-3). The assumption that regular offerings (Fort. 2512: *gal*) were made at the *šumar* works well for each of the four texts.

<sup>116</sup> Burial mounds: Hdt. VII.117 (Artachaees); VIII.24 (Persian victims of the Thermopylae battle); Ctes. FGrH 688 F 28 § 8 = Plut. *Art.* XVIII.8 cf. Phot. *Bibl.* LXXII p. 44b Bekker (Clearchus). Susa tomb: de Morgan 1905: 34-58; Talon 1994. Arġān: Henkelman [forthcoming]: 77-8, 81, 84 (with references). Though the Arġān tomb predates the Achaemenid empire, it is probably closer in time to the *šumar* texts than the Susa tomb. Moreover, several objects in the tomb's inventory herald Achaemenid art in a very striking way, notably the large bowl discussed by Javier Alvarez [forthcoming].

- The usage of letter-orders and the involvement of Parnakka and Ziššawiš confirm the special status of the *šumar* (§§ 4.4.1-2). These officials were frequently involved, either directly or indirectly, in offerings and sacrifices; the relevant texts share important features with notably NN 2174 and Fort. 2512.
- 'Cambyses' (NN 2174) and 'Hystaspes' (NN 1700) are likely to be Cambyses II and Darius' father respectively (§§ 4.5.1, 4.5.4). 'Upanduš' (NN 2174) may be the name of one of Cambyses' wives, Phaedyne (§ 4.5.3). It can be argued that, apart from Cambyses, Hystaspes too had died at the date of the *šumar* texts. The assumption that *šumar* indicates a tomb, grave or burial mound provides a natural explanation for the (unique) occurrence of (deceased) members of the royal family.
- Additional texts (PF 0302; PF 1854) reveal that 24 head of cattle (cf. NN 2174) and an amount of wine were dedicated/offered for (the) *bašur* of Cambyses at Narezzaš (the place where his *šumar* is located as well). Although not entirely clear, these texts probably refer to offerings as well (§ 4.5.2).
- Two texts record regular (monthly) *lan*-offerings of figs and wine performed by a *maguš* at Narezzaš. The possibility that these offerings were intended for the *šumar* of Cambyses and Upanduš or that of Zišunduš is attractive (§ 4.5.2) and would accord well with Greek statements on the involvement of *magoi* in Persian funeral offerings (§ 5.2.1). If the Bakabadda of NN 2174 and Fort. 2512 is the same individual elsewhere active in a sanctuary and called a 'priest,' this would provide an additional case of an priestly official at a *šumar* (§ 5.2.1).
- The regularity of the provisions of small cattle (and plausibly wine) at a *šumar*, the connection to the crown ('chamberlains,' elite servant taskgroups, involvement of Parnakka and Ziššawiš) as well as the regular provisions of flour and grain to the keepers of the *šumar* are in line with reports by Arrian, Strabo and Aeschylus on Persian funeral offerings (§ 5.2.1). Both the Greek and the Elamite sources seem to refer to commodities that were consecrated and subsequently consumed by the priests/caretakers (cf. § 4.3.5).
- Ctesias repeatedly reports on the close involvement of 'eunuchs' (i.e. court officials) in the funeral arrangements of Persian kings. A Bagapates (cf. Bakabadda!?) is said to have guarded Darius' tomb for seven years. The Achaemenid tomb reliefs seem to confirm the role of court officials (notably Aspathines) in the funeral practices. Court officials, i.e. 'chamberlains' are indeed involved in the keeping of a *šumar* (NN 1848; § 5.2.2).
- There are no conclusive arguments in favour, and various arguments against, the attribution of the Takht-e Rostam near Persepolis to Cambyses (§ 5.3.1). It may have been intended for Bardiya or Hystaspes. On the other hand, a location of Cambyses' *šumar*, i.e. his tomb or grave, in or near Narezzaš/Niriz in southeastern Fārs is certainly not beyond imagination (§ 5.3.2). Proper archaeological research at both locations is an urgent desideratum.

Obviously, various issues discussed in this paper require further elaboration and I do not doubt that this will lead to modified results. Yet, the main conclusion, that *šumar* denotes a tomb, grave, burial mound, etc. and that the relevant texts attest to funeral offerings for deceased noble and royal Persians, can, in my opinion, hardly be avoided. The Fortification archive is a treasure waiting to be excavated, as a colleague recently put it. The tombs of Cambyses and Hystaspes, now unearthed from this invaluable source, may attest to the truth of that statement.

*Appendix: 'chamberlains' in Achaemenid Babylonia, Susa and Persepolis*

1. *Achaemenid Babylonia and Susa* – Holders of the title *ustarbaru* appear in over 40 Babylonian documents. These texts form a rich and important source on the Achaemenid 'chamberlain,' but due to the lack of an encompassing study on the subject (which is certainly beyond the competence of the present author), the precise function and duties of the *ustarbaru* officials, the 'chamberlains' in Persian Babylonia, remain obscure.

The relevant texts are listed by Tavernier 2002: 700 (to which Stolper 1992: 75 ll. 9', u.e. should be added). The survey by Eilers 1940: 81-115 retains its usefulness. See also the references and comments in Dandamaev 1992: 52-3, 86, 104-6, 110, 113, 116, 119, 123, 127. For interpretations of the function of the *ustarbaru* see esp. Stolper 1985: 62-3, 67, 127; *idem* 1993: 8-10; *idem* 1994: 622; *idem* [forthcoming 2]. The texts and comments presented by Stolper 1992, Joannès 1990 and Joannès & Lemaire 1996 are important additions to the *ustarbaru* dossier. From the available evidence the following inferences can be made:

- Some of the officials are introduced as 'royal chamberlain' (*ustarbar ša šarri*, e.g. PBS 2/1 143), one as 'court-official, chamberlain' (*ša rēš šarri ustarbara*, RA 90 no. 6).
- The title '(royal) chamberlain' could be hereditary as in the case of Šibbū and his son Parnuš (Eilers 1940: 88-9 with references; Dandamaev 1992: 110, 123). Incidentally, a person named Parnuš appears in PF 1537 (s.d.) and PF 2050 (yr. 27) as a *karamaraš* official (the designation is repeated in the Aramaic gloss on PF 2050, no. LXIX in Bowman's unpublished manuscript on the Aramaic glosses). Elsewhere it appears that this position could be held by a *lipte kutira*, 'chamberlain' (cf. p. 164 below on PF 1265). The possibility that this Parnuš (I) may be an ancestor (father?) of Šibbū the royal chamberlain and his son Parnuš (II) the chamberlain (both attested 422-20 BC) is tantalising but lacks further support. Parnuš (I) is also mentioned accounting (*mušišda*; NN 0726) and his

name, according to Delaunay's reading, appears in the Aramaic gloss on PF 0281 (Bowman no. VI): PRNWŠ HMKR', 'Parnuš the accountant' (Delaunay 1976: 24-5).

- Some chamberlains acted as managers of the estates of the Persian royalty, such as the 'chamberlain of the queen' and the 'chamberlain of Parysatis' (on the latter see Stolper [forthcoming 2] with earlier literature; see also Brosius 1996: 127). These officials may themselves have been fiefholders on the estates they managed (see Stolper 1985: 62-3, 65, 67; cf. Joannès & Lemaire 1996: 54). This may also be true for the *ustarbaru* official 'who has been granted' an estate by prince Siṭunu.
- Various *ustarbaru* officials appear, often as witnesses, in texts pertaining to other members of the Persian royalty: princess Dundana (BE 10 89; Stolper 1985: 66), prince Aršam (BE 9 1 and Stolper 1985 no. 109 = Stolper & Donbaz 1997 no. 105; see also Dandamaev 1992: 116), the estate of the crown prince (below). Sometimes two or three chamberlains appear as witness in the same document (Stolper 1992: 71, 75); in a record of deposit by an *ustarbaru* official a second *ustarbaru* appears as witness (*idem* 1993 no. 1).
- The function of administrator (*mār bīti*) is also attested for 'chamberlains.' Prince Zatame had an *ustarbaru* official with that designation (Eilers 1940: 88; Zadok 1977: 102, 111; Dandamaev 1992: 106).
- A *ḥaṭru* named after 'the chamberlains' may imply that some of these officials were organised in such an institution (BE 10 32; see Stolper 1985: 78). Conversely, a chamberlain who held a 'royal grant' estate, acted as the foreman of the '*ḥaṭru* of *banaiḫānu*' (BE 9 102; see Stolper 1985: 73, 126-7).
- Some *ustarbaru* officials seem to have been holders of small or large estates themselves, often acting via a bailiff (*paḡdu*). A number of these estates were 'royal grants' (e.g., BM 54205 in Eilers 1940: 107-115; cf. Joannès & Lemaire 1996: 54 n. 24). An estate of considerable size, consisting of several villages, was held by Bagadāta (BE 9 10; compare the remarks by Stolper 1994: 622). In RA 90 no. 6 the royal chamberlain Bagazuštu leases his large estate at the place Bīt-Abī-rām, including a bow land, to the major domo of the crown prince's estate (see Joannès & Lemaire 1996: 54-6; BHACH 1: 91; Zadok 1977: 95-6). Possibly the same Bagazuštu was one of several high-ranking Persians sent from Susa to Borsippa sometime during the reign of Darius I (Amherst 258; Ungnad 1959/60: 79-81; see HEP: 526, 981 with previous literature). Note the occurrence of an *ustarbaru* official in the context of the crown prince's estate in BE 10 15 (on which Stolper 1985: 59-62).
- In one case (Joannès 1990 no. 1), there is clear evidence for a larger staff or perhaps a 'house' of an *ustarbaru* official ('«Maison» de Šamû').



- Most of the chamberlains occur in documents pertaining to the region of Nippur, but their activities are also attested at Babylon (BM 54205; BE 10 15), Bīt-Abī-rām near Babylon (RA 90 no. 6) and Susa (see Joannès 1990; Stolper 1992).
- Most of the chamberlains bear Babylonian names, some have Iranian and one has an Egyptian name (see generally Eilers 1940: 83-89, 111; Dandamaev 1992: 52-3; see also Zadok 1977 on the Iranian names). One chamberlain has both an Iranian and a Babylonian name, another with an Iranian name has a Babylonian patronymic (BM 54205 in Eilers 1940; BE 10 9, on which Dandamaev 1992: 52). A chamberlain with an Iranian name is introduced as 'Egyptian' (Joannès & Lemaire 1996 no. 6).

2. *Persepolis* – To the Babylonian texts notably two PF texts dealing with the *lipte kutira* should be added:

- PF 1256 records the receipt of flour rations by Teatukka and his three servants (*libap*) in accordance with a sealed document from the king (*halmi*). He is introduced as *lipte kutira karamaraš irmatam Bakabadda habezziš-na-ma*, 'chamberlain, registrar [working] at the estate of Bakabadda the *habezziš*' (on the latter designation, possibly a court title, see n. 23 above) indicating that he was sent out to make a registry of properties, labourers or perhaps (estimated) revenue (similarly: Brosius 2003: 277 n. 23). As Stolper (1977: 263-4) has pointed out, individuals designated as 'registrars' do occur in various other capacities in the PF archive. Te(a)tukka also occurs as collector of 'revenue' (e.g., PF 0634, NN 2008), supervising a year account (NN 2477), assigning workforces (PF 1951) and sacrificing to various gods (PF 0346). If one accepts the identification Te(a)tukka = Attukka (for which there are good arguments), the same official occurs also as *bazikara*, 'tax collector' (PF 0443; PF 0567). In short, Teatukka was an authoritative official of the higher ranks. This is confirmed by his monthly ration of 60 quarts of flour (cf. Koch 1983: 42-3).<sup>117</sup>
- In PF 1599 Bakadada the *mudunra* received rations of flour which he passed on to *hasup* and *lipte kutip*. The *hasup*, explained by Hinz as 'Salber' and often labelled as 'Babylonian' or 'Egyptian,' belonged to the class of free men judging from their rations (Koch 1983: 38). Unfortunately, PF 1599 does not specify Bakadada's ration, but he may be the 'free man' and lance bearer involved in escorting elite travel parties (see Henkelman 2002: 25-8). His designation

<sup>117</sup> Compare Dadumanya who also appears as *karamaraš* (NN 2101) and *bazikara* (NN 2365). On *bazikara* see HEP: 452-4, 966-7 with previous literature; Aperghis 1998: 56-8. Note that a connection between registrars and 'lance bearers' is also attested (Henkelman 2002: 4, 22-3). On PF 1256 see also Hinz 1973: 91.

*mudunra* (PFT: 40, 'horseman,' EIW s.v. *hh.mu-du-un-ra*, 'Reiterknecht, Husar, Kavallerist') certainly allows for this scenario. In any case, PF 1196 undoubtedly refers to the same Bakadada (the same seal, PFS 1140sta, was used), receiving *zali* (a special kind of grain) for a group of 28 men 'in the free-men's class' (*šaluma*; PF 1196).<sup>118</sup>

Apart from these two texts and the *šumar* text NN 1848 the PF archive does not disclose anything on the *lipte kutip*, 'chamberlains.' NN 1057: 19 and NN 2252 both seem to be payments for *lipte*, presumably in its original meaning 'clothes, garments' (cf. § 4.1.2 above).<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> For the interpretation of *hasup* (cf. OPers. \**upānḡa-kara*?) see Hinz 1973: 96-8.

<sup>119</sup> Note that Mipanda, the official mentioned in NN 1057 elsewhere is involved in supplying food that is 'consumed before the king' (EŠŠANA *tibba makka*). For NN 2252 see EIW s.v. *mar-na* and compare the related texts PF 2030 and NN 1434.

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## TARKUMUWA UND DAS FARNAH<sup>1</sup>

Josef Wiesehöfer – Kiel

Zu den bekanntesten und in seiner Deutung umstrittensten Münztypen des achaimenidischen Kleinasien gehören die Statere, auf deren Avers der Ba'al von Tarsos erscheint (aramäische Legende: BALTARZ), auf deren Revers ein vermutlich als TRKMW (Tarkumuwa)<sup>2</sup> bezeichneter persischer Würdenträger in persischer Tracht einen Pfeil untersucht und rechts von ihm eine geflügelte Scheibe zu sehen ist (Abb. 1).<sup>3</sup> Über die Identität des Tarkumuwa wird in der Forschung heftig gestritten: Möchten die einen in ihm den aus der griechisch-römischen Überlieferung bekannten Rebellen Datames erkennen,<sup>4</sup> lehnen die anderen diese Gleichsetzung strikt ab und sehen in ihm zumeist einen loyalen Funktionär Artaxerxes' II. bzw. Repräsentanten der kilikischen Syennesis-Dynastie.<sup>5</sup> In meinem Beitrag zu Ehren meiner lieben Freundin möchte ich, ausgehend von einem Detail dieses Münztyps, neues Licht in diese Angelegenheit zu bringen versuchen.

<sup>1</sup> Für wichtige Hinweise und die Photos der Münzen danke ich meinem Freund Michael Alram (Wien).

<sup>2</sup> Diese Lesung, die inzwischen von den meisten Gelehrten akzeptiert wird, verdankt man Lemaire 1989: 141-149; *idem* 1991: 203-205; vgl. Le Rider 1995: 777. Andere Lesungen sind: TRNSW, TDNMW, TRNMW und TRDMW.

<sup>3</sup> Moysey 1986: 58-61 (pl. 5, 51-59); SNG Cop. 295-298; SNG von Aulock 5951f.; SNG Levante 85-88; SNG France II 282-289, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Etwa Moysey 1989: 109; Mildenberg 1990/91: 10 n. 8; Bing 1998: 59; Debord 1999: 361 u.a.m.; Lemaire 1989: 147-148 skizziert die Alternative: T. = D. oder T. = unbekannter kilikischer Dynast.

<sup>5</sup> So etwa Le Rider 1997: 157-159; Jacobs 1994: 153; *idem* 1999: 47; Casabonne 1995: 164f.; *idem* 2000: 35 u.ö.; HEP: 686; Briant 2000: 269; BHach I: 60f.; BHach II: 94f. – Casabonne 1999: 61 nimmt an, T. habe die Aufgaben eines Satrapen in Kilikien übernommen, doch ist dieser Titel für T. nicht belegt (BHach II: 155 n. 330).



Abb. 1: Baal/Satrapen-Prägung des Tarkumuwa aus Tarsos.



Abb. 2: Flügelmann/Zeus-Prägung des Tiribazos aus Issos.

Die Einzelheit, um die es mir geht, ist die Flügelscheibe, in der ich seit langem, wie viele andere Kolleginnen und Kollegen,<sup>6</sup> ein Symbol des X<sup>v</sup>aranah/Farnah, und zwar in seiner allgemeinen iranischen, nicht königlichen Ausprägung – das wäre der berühmte 'Flügelmann' –, sehen möchte. Daß der 'Flügelmann' das X<sup>v</sup>aranah (griech. δαίμων) des Großkönigs verkörpert, die Flügelscheibe den

<sup>6</sup> Grundlegend: Shabazi 1974; *idem* 1980; Calmeyer 1979; weitere Literatur (auch mit den Gegenstimmen) bei De Jong 1998: 481-483 sowie Stausberg 2002: 177-180.

Daimon allgemein, gibt auch im Lichte der sog. Satrapenmünzen<sup>7</sup> Sinn. So erscheint auf den Münzen des königstreuen Tiribazos aus Soloi, Mallos und Issos aus den 380er Jahren (Abb. 2),<sup>8</sup> die mit dem von Artaxerxes II. in die Wege geleiteten Unternehmen gegen Zypern in Verbindung stehen, der 'Flügelmann' (in 'griechischer' Ausprägung<sup>9</sup>) und gibt Münzen und Expedition damit als 'großköniglich' zu erkennen; der (von den Göttern gesandte) Daimon Artaxerxes' II. soll dabei ganz offensichtlich den günstigen Ausgang der Unternehmung garantieren. Als Zuweisungssymbol entspricht der 'Flügelmann' damit etwa der Legende ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ auf Münzen anderer Militärbefehlshaber der Perser (Tissaphernes etc.).<sup>10</sup> Wenn die (letzten<sup>11</sup>) Münzen des Tarkumuwa nun gerade nicht den großköniglichen Daimon zeigen, sondern den 'allgemeinen (iranischen) Glücksglanz,' der – im Bilde – über Iranern jeglicher Couleur (einschließlich dem Großkönig) und selbst über dem 'Flügelmann' schweben kann und als Symbol von Glück, Erfolg und Schutz zu interpretieren ist, dann kann dies m.E. nur folgendes bedeuten: der Tarkumuwa dieses Münztyps sieht sich nicht durch den Daimon des Großkönigs, sondern durch das Farnah der Iraner begünstigt,<sup>12</sup> er beansprucht allerdings nicht den großköniglichen Thron,<sup>13</sup> denn zur ikonographischen Umsetzung eines solchen Anspruches hätten ihm sowohl die großkönigliche Tracht (einschließlich der *τιάρα ὀρθή*), als auch eine persönliche Variante des 'Flügelmannes' zur Verfügung gestanden.

Die besonderen Ambitionen des Tarkumuwa bzw. sein Bemühen, eine eigene, von der großköniglichen Beauftragung unabhängige, Legitimität zu er-

<sup>7</sup> Zur Problematik dieses Begriffs s. Mildenberg 1993: 58-60. Vgl. Debord 1999: 50-65.

<sup>8</sup> Die Sammlungen dieser Münzen sind erwähnt in Debord 1999: 336 n. 247-253.

<sup>9</sup> Casabonne 1996: 124.

<sup>10</sup> Debord 1999: 50ff.

<sup>11</sup> Moysey 1986: 16; *idem* 1989: 108-116; vgl. auch Naster 1989. Die Gegenstempel bestätigen die Abfolge der Prägungen des Tarkumuwa (de Callatay 2000: 116-7).

<sup>12</sup> Die Farnah-Münze (Silberstater), die auf der Vorderseite einen Mann in persischer Tracht mit Treibstab zeigt, der mit Ochsen pflügt, auf der Rückseite eine säugende Kuh mit Kalb sowie die Flügelscheibe (Mildenberg 1993: pl. 11, 89; von ihm datiert um 400 v. Chr.), verweist auf das durch das Farnah garantierte bzw. von ihm symbolisierte Glück Irans. – Die von Debord (1999: 363) angeführte Kleinmünze (SNG Levante 189-190) aus Tarsos, die an Stelle des auf den 'Löwen-Statere' geprägten Sternes die Flügelscheibe zeigt, widerspricht dieser Interpretation nicht: sie gehört wohl in die Zeit unmittelbar vor Alexanders Ankunft in Kilikien (Mildenberg 1990/91: 13). Das (iranische) Farnah gibt in diesem Zusammenhang Sinn (als Glückssymbol) und steht ja auch nicht – wie auf dem Satrapentyp des Tarkumuwa – in Verbindung mit einer konkreten Person.

<sup>13</sup> So Moysey 1989: 110.

reichen, verdeutlicht auch die sog. Ba'al/Ana<sup>14</sup>-Prägung dieses Mannes (Abb. 3).<sup>15</sup> Während sein Arethusa/Helmträger-Münztyp (Abb. 4)<sup>16</sup> an den des königstreuen Pharnabazos anschließt (Stempelidentität),<sup>17</sup> bietet diese neue (zweite)<sup>18</sup> Prägung, wie der ihm folgende Ba'al/Satrapen-Typ, etwas völlig Neues: Im Gegensatz zum Ba'al des Pharnabazos (Abb. 5),<sup>19</sup> der, nach links blickend und ein langes Szepter haltend, auf einem Diphros sitzend abgebildet ist, blickt der – gleichfalls sitzende – Ba'al des Tarkumuwa nach links oder vorn (Ba'al/Ana-Prägung) bzw. rechts (Ba'al/Satrapen-Typ); in seiner Linken hält er eine Traube und eine Weizenähre, unter seinem rechten Arm ein langes Szepter, das in einen Adler mit gespreizten Schwingen ausläuft. Über dem linken Arm des Gottes, der eine Blätterkrone trägt, ist ein Weihrauchständer zu sehen. Im Revers weist der (wie sein Gegenüber in einem Heiligtum stehende) bärtige und nackte Ana mit ausgestrecktem und erhobenem rechtem Arm auf eine gleichfalls stehende Person (durch die Legende als Tarkumuwa identifiziert) in griechischer Kleidung und mit einer Krone bzw. einem Haarreif nicht unähnlich der/dem des Gottes, die mit ihrer Rechten eine Ergebnheitsgeste (Proskynese?) vollzieht. Zwischen beiden Figuren ist ein Weihrauchständer zu sehen. Ist allein schon kaum anzunehmen, daß ein großköniglicher Funktionär ohne eigene Ambitionen Münzen dieses außergewöhnlichen Typs und mit dieser Symbolkraft (Tarkumuwa erfüllt die Mission des Ana)<sup>20</sup> geprägt hätte, so wird das Bemühen des Tarkumuwa um eigene Legitimität durch den Satrapenmünztyp m.E. zur Gewißheit.<sup>21</sup> Daß ausgerechnet eine Münze dieses letzten Typs des Tarkumuwa

<sup>14</sup> Die Lesung Ana (Gott von Kanesch) wird vertreten von Bing 1998: 59-63; für den mesopotamischen Gott Anu spricht sich Lemaire 2000: 133-4 aus.

<sup>15</sup> Moysey 1986: 53-58 (pl. 3.37; 4.40-50); SNG Cop. 299-302; SNG von Aulock 5943-50; SNG Levante 83f.; SNG France II 290-300, u.a.m.

<sup>16</sup> Moysey 1986: 41-52 (pl. 2.16-21); SNG Cop. 274-294; SNG von Aulock 5934-42; SNG Levante 78-80; SNG France II 258-277, u.a.m.

<sup>17</sup> Naster 1989; vgl. Moysey 1986: 8-10; Alram 1986: 109; *idem* 1999: 29-30.

<sup>18</sup> Naster 1989: 194.

<sup>19</sup> Moysey 1986: 30-34; SNG von Aulock 5927-5933; SNG Levante 71-74; SNG Levante Suppl. I 17; SNG France II 251-257, u.a.m.

<sup>20</sup> Moysey 1989: 110; Naster 1996: 282.

<sup>21</sup> Sekunda 1988: 42 hat alle Prägungen des Tarkumuwa (bei ihm Datames) in die Zeit zwischen 372 und 368, d.h. in die loyale Phase des Datames, einordnen wollen. – Daß der pfeilprüfende 'Satrap' (und die Flügelscheibe) aus der (iranischen) Ikonographie gut bekannt ist (sind) (vgl. den entsprechenden Hinweis bei Debord 1999: 362f.), spricht zwar gegen übertriebene Ambitionen des Datames, nicht aber gegen die in diesem Beitrag vertretene These.



Abb. 3: Baal/Ana-Prägung des Tarkumuwa aus Tarsos.



Abb. 4: Arethusa/Helmträger-Prägung des Tarkumuwa aus Tarsos.

später vom königstreuen Mazaios überprägt wurde,<sup>22</sup> gäbe kaum Sinn, wenn Tarkumuwa wie Mazaios loyal zum König gestanden hätte.

Handelt es sich bei Tarkumuwa nun nicht um einen loyalen Funktionär des Artaxerxes, sondern um eine vor allem am eigenen Erfolg interessierte Person, dann ist m.E. eine Identifikation dieses Mannes mit Datames

<sup>22</sup> Hinweis de Callatay (zitiert bei Casabonne 2000: 37).



wahrscheinlich. Für eine solche Gleichsetzung sprechen auch folgende Punkte: a) Datames ist durch seine Münzen aus Sinope bekannt (Abb. 6),<sup>23</sup> warum sollte er, der in Kappadokien/Kilikien politisch-militärisch aktiv ist, nicht auch dort geprägt haben? b) Tarkumuwa steht durch seine Münzen in Verbindung zu Pharnabazos (der Vorläufer des Datames als Oberkommandierender der Ägyptentruppen war);<sup>24</sup> c) Tarkumuwa ist in der Lage, eine gewaltige Summe Silbers auszumünzen;<sup>25</sup> d) Tarkumuwa prägt einen iranischen Reversstyp (Satrap mit dem iranischen Farnah); e) es wäre erstaunlich, wenn eine solch wichtige Person nun ausgerechnet nicht in der griechischen Überlieferung erscheinen sollte – etwa als Gegenspieler des Datames.<sup>26</sup> Voraussetzung für eine Identifikation des Tarkumuwa mit Datames bleibt nun allerdings, daß man den Charakter der Bezeichnung TRKMW zu bestimmen und die Münzen in die uns aus den literarischen Zeugnissen bekannte 'Biographie' des Datames einzuordnen vermag. Was die Charakterisierung der Legende TRKMW angeht, denkt man üblicherweise daran, in Tarkumuwa ("Tarḥu(nt) ist Kraft") den epichoren Namen des in Südwestanatolien tätigen Datames zu sehen;<sup>27</sup> allerdings überliefert die literarische Tradition nicht, daß Datames einen anderen als seinen bekannten – iranischen<sup>28</sup> – Namen getragen habe.<sup>29</sup> Diesem Problem versucht mein

<sup>23</sup> Alram 1986: 110 No. 344.

<sup>24</sup> Le Rider hat angemerkt, daß wohl kaum anzunehmen sei, daß der zunächst in großköniglichem Auftrag tätige Datames den ersten Münztyp ("documents officiels, frappés avec l'autorisation du roi et ... sous son control") nicht mit seinem in Susa bekannten Namen Datames, sondern mit einem lokalen Namen (Tarkumuwa) gekennzeichnet hätte (1997: 158). Ebenso gut kann man aber auch verwundert darüber sein, daß ein Kiliker mit dem Namen Tarkumuwa sich auf seinen Münzen in iranischer Tracht mit einem Symbol des iranischen Farnah abbilden läßt.

<sup>25</sup> Casabonne 2000: 64 n. 53 errechnet über 70 Talente Silber. Es ist eine Summe, die vor Alexanders Erscheinen in diesem Raum nicht wieder erreicht werden wird.

<sup>26</sup> So hat für Le Rider, der, wie betont, in Tarkumuwa nicht Datames, sondern einen lokalen Beauftragten des Großkönigs sehen möchte, der Großkönig – wegen des Auftrags an Datames, den Aspis-Aufstand niederzuschlagen – "décidé de déléguer à Tarkumuwa la part cilicienne du dispositif mis en place contre Nectanébo" (1997: 158). Auch hier wäre zu fragen, warum ihn Nepos und andere dann nicht erwähnen.

<sup>27</sup> Lemaire 1989: 147-8 (von ihm nur als eine von zwei Möglichkeiten vorgeschlagen; die andere sieht in T. einen "dynaste cilicien inconnu par ailleurs").

<sup>28</sup> Vgl. R. Schmitt 1996: 115.

<sup>29</sup> Wenn der Vater Kamisares als Karer bezeichnet wird (Nep. *Dat.* 1.1), dann dürfte dies – beim iranischen Namen von Vater und Sohn – nur auf den ursprünglichen Wohnort des Kamisares, nicht jedoch auf seine ethnische Zugehörigkeit verweisen (vgl. Sekunda 1988: 36). Zu den Aufgabenbereichen von Vater und Sohn s.u.



Abb. 5: Baal-Prägung des Pharnabazos aus Tarsos.

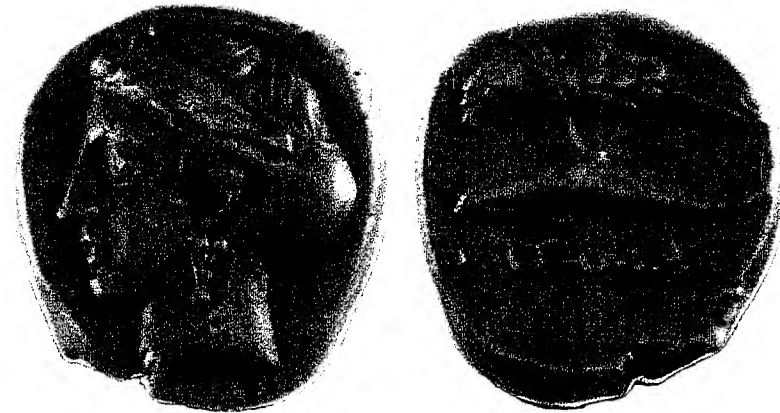


Abb. 6: Sinope-Prägung des Datames.

Bielefelder Kollege Tassilo Schmitt dadurch zu entgehen, daß er in einem bislang unveröffentlichten ausführlichen Beitrag zur Geschichte Kilikiens die These vertritt, TRKMW sei nicht als Name, sondern als Titel aufzufassen;<sup>30</sup> Datames stelle sich damit als Sachwalter des obersten Gottes im epichoren luwischen

<sup>30</sup> T. Schmitt [im Druck]. M. Alram (Wien) hält diese Theorie allerdings aufgrund des numismatischen Kontextes nicht für überzeugend (Brief v. 10.6.02).

Pantheon, Tarḫu(nt),<sup>31</sup> d.h. als "Träger der 'Kraft des Tarḫu(nt)'," dar. Schmitt, der, wie andere vor ihm, die Flügelscheibe als Symbol des Auramazdā interpretiert, tut sich schwer, das Nebeneinander von anatolischen (Ba'al, Tarḫu(nt)) und iranischen (Auramazdā) Götter(name)n auf einer Münze zu erklären. Interpretiert man jedoch die Flügelscheibe als Symbol des allgemeinen iranischen 'Glücksglanzes,' dann entfällt diese Schwierigkeit. Der Tarḫu(nt)sachwalter und Beauftragte des Ana, Datames, der sich im engeren kilikisch-tarsischen Zusammenhang – wie Pharnabazos vor ihm – als Verehrer des – mit Tarḫu(nt) (und Zeus) 'verwandten'<sup>32</sup> – Ba'al geriert (Avers), zeigt sich im Revers des dritten Münztyps (auch) als iranischer Würdenträger im ostanatolischen Raum mit eigenen politischen Ambitionen, der die Interessen des Großkönigs hintanstellt.<sup>33</sup> Iranischen bzw. mit der iranischen Bildsymbolik vertrauten Personen (etwa den anderen Funktionären des Großkönigs in Kleinasien) muß dieser Sachverhalt jedenfalls hinreichend klar gewesen sein.

Plausibel ist dieser Deutungsversuch allerdings nur, wenn sich die Münzprägungen des TRKMW auch in die Biographie des Datames einpassen lassen (wobei die Münzen der Ausgangspunkt aller Überlegungen sein müssen). Dabei sei angemerkt, daß allen Beiträgen zur kilikischen Münzprägung und Geschichte der ersten Jahrzehnte des 4. Jh. v.Chr. gemeinsam ist, daß sie ihre Thesen vor dem Hintergrund der neueren Forschung zu Umfang und Bedeutung der sog. Satrapenaufstände aufzustellen gezwungen sind.<sup>34</sup> Zunächst stellt sich die Frage, ob alle Münzen mit der Legende TRKMW, also etwa auch die Arethusa/Helmträger-Prägungen, von einem aufständischen Datames geprägt worden sein müssen. Robert Moysey hat aus der engen typologischen Verwandtschaft der ersten Datames- mit den letzten Pharnabazosemissionen geschlossen, hier wie dort handle es sich um Prägungen zur Finanzierung des großköniglich angeordneten Militärschlages gegen Ägypten. Die ersten Tarkumuwa-Münzen seien bereits 373/2, unmittelbar nach der Ablösung des Pharnabazos, geprägt worden; demnach seien erst die Ba'al-Münzen dem aufständischen Datames zuzuweisen.<sup>35</sup> Dagegen ist für T. Schmitt bereits der Titel TRKMW Ausweis der rebellischen Haltung des Datames. Die Kontinuität des Münzbildes (Arethusa/Helmträger) besage nur, daß das Geld – wie das des Pharnabazos – für

<sup>31</sup> Zum Gott vgl. Jasink 1991.

<sup>32</sup> Lemaire 2000: 130-132.

<sup>33</sup> Welchen iranischen Göttern sich Datames verbunden fühlte, ob er eine besondere Affinität zu Auramazdā besaß oder, wie sein früherer Oberherr, sich eher der Trias Auramazdā-Anāhitā-Mithra verbunden fühlte (vgl. A<sup>2</sup>Ha u.ö.), ist nicht zu klären.

<sup>34</sup> Die Literatur ist gesammelt in HEP: 1018-24; BHach I: 57-61; BHach II: 92-97.

<sup>35</sup> Moysey 1986: 14.

die griechischen Söldner vorgesehen gewesen sei, die nun allerdings nicht für den Großkönig, sondern für Datames hätten kämpfen sollen.<sup>36</sup> Eine Zäsur in der Münzprägung Kilikiens (Konzentration der Prägungen in den Ateliers von Tarsos, Selge und Aspendos ab ca. 375 v.Chr.) postuliert auch François de Callatay<sup>37</sup> und verbindet diese gleichfalls mit Tarkumuwa (den er allerdings – dabei Olivier Casabonne, Pierre Briant und Georges Le Rider folgend – nicht mit Datames gleichsetzt).<sup>38</sup> Im Unterschied zu Moysey und T. Schmitt möchte er die Massenemissionen des Tarkumuwa allerdings weder mit den Satrapenaufständen noch einzig mit einer bestimmten militärischen Unternehmung (etwa dem Ägyptenfeldzug), vielmehr mit einer Änderung der großköniglichen Politik in Südanatolien in Verbindung bringen.<sup>39</sup>

Im folgenden möchte ich, ausgehend von den erwähnten Indizien für eine Gleichsetzung Tarkumuwa-Datames und unter Berücksichtigung der Argumente der Numismatiker, den Versuch unternehmen, die numismatische mit der literarischen Tradition (vor allem Nepos,<sup>40</sup> Polyainos<sup>41</sup> und Diodor<sup>42</sup>) zu vergleichen und, wenn möglich, zu 'versöhnen.' Der Darstellung des Nepos kann man entnehmen, daß Datames sich nicht unmittelbar nach seiner Bestellung zum Oberkommandierenden der Ägyptenarmee (wohl 373 v.Chr.)<sup>43</sup> vom Großkönig lossagte, sondern zuvor noch in dessen Auftrag den aufständischen Aspis in Kataonien unterwarf (*Dat.* 4.1-5);<sup>44</sup> ja selbst die (folgende?) Besetzung von Paphlagonien<sup>45</sup> ist nicht ohne weiteres als gegen den Großkönig gerichtet zu interpretieren, auch wenn Nepos (*Dat.* 5.6) dies suggeriert.<sup>46</sup> Deutet man

<sup>36</sup> T. Schmitt [im Druck].

<sup>37</sup> De Callatay 2000: 124.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*: 93 n. 2.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*: 124: "Si, du reste, ces émissions avaient uniquement servi à payer des mercenaires grecs pour une opération précise, on se serait attendu à les retrouver en plus grande quantité loin du territoire cilicien. Tel n'est pas le cas. ... Je croirais volontiers pour ma part ... qu'Artaxerxès a ensuite cherché à modifier son dispositif stratégique en profitant de l'affaiblissement grec pour le redéployer plus à l'ouest. ... Je ne crois pas ... qu'il faille lier plusieurs frappes de Tarkumuwa avec la grande révolte satrapale ..." Zustimmung Briant 2000: 270.

<sup>40</sup> Nepos, *Datames*.

<sup>41</sup> Polyainos VII.21.

<sup>42</sup> Diod. XV.91.

<sup>43</sup> Sekunda 1988: 41.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*: 42-44.

<sup>45</sup> Zur Datierung der Unternehmung(en) vgl. Sekunda 1988: 45-47; Debord 1999: 358f.

<sup>46</sup> *Celans, qua voluntate esset in regem*. Zumindest hat Artaxerxes die Besetzung Paphlagoniens nicht als unfreundlichen Akt empfunden.

weiterhin Polyainos VII.21.5<sup>47</sup> (Proskynese vor dem großköniglichen Schreiben) nicht im Sinne einer Verhöhnung des großköniglichen Befehls (dagegen spricht etwa die Abreise des Datames aus Sinope im Strategem), sondern begreift die Episode als Beweis für die Loyalität des Datames, dann ist auch hier noch kein Bruch mit dem Oberherrn zu beobachten. Bei Nepos erhält Artaxerxes erst nach einem erfolgreichen Pisidienfeldzug des Datames die Nachricht vom Abfall seines Feldherren, und zwar aus dem Munde des Datamessohnes Sysinas (*Dat.* 6). Diese Unternehmung gegen die Pisider, sollte sie historisch sein, die in die Zeit nach 373 v.Chr. gehören muß und nicht der Verpflichtung der Einheimischen für eigene Zwecke gedient haben, wird demnach vom König gleichfalls nicht als Zeichen der Insurrektion seines Befehlshabers gedeutet. Erst nach dem Verrat des Datamessohnes reagiert Artaxerxes und entsendet den Autophradates<sup>48</sup> gegen den Rebellen (*Dat.* 7.2), erst jetzt (nach 368 v.Chr.) betrachtet Artaxerxes den Datames als Aufständischen. 367 scheint der so Geächtete den Euphrat überschritten zu haben,<sup>49</sup> doch hat er sich bald darauf bereits zum Rückzug auf kappadokisches Gebiet gezwungen gesehen.<sup>50</sup>

Die Münzprägung des Tarkumuwa paßt sich diesem Bilde ein: der erste, der Pharnabazos-Prägung verwandte, Münztyp dürfte in der Zeit ausgegeben worden sein, als Tarkumuwa/Datames noch in großköniglichem Auftrag agierte. Angesichts der vielfältigen Aufgaben des Datames nach 373 v.Chr. ist man dabei nicht gezwungen, die Münzen ausschließlich auf die Ägyptenunternehmung zu beziehen; sie könnten sehr wohl, wie von de Callatay erwogen, (auch) mit den veränderten Interessen Artaxerxes' II. in diesem Raum sowie mit den Feldzügen des Datames gegen Aspis und anderen Aufträgen des Großkönigs in Verbindung gebracht werden. Eine solche Interpretation entzöge zwar der Schmittschen These den Boden, der Titel TRKMW sei bereits Ausweis der Insurrektion des Datames, doch macht die Selbstbezeichnung als Tarḥu(nt)sachwalter auch bei einem ambitionierten großköniglichen Funktionär mit familiären Verbindungen

<sup>47</sup> Zur Datierung der Sinopeunternehmung(en) und der Münzprägung des Datames ebendort s. Debord 1999: 358 und n. 429.

<sup>48</sup> Sekunda (1988: 49 [Hinweis C. Tuplin]) hat aus der Aufmarschrichtung der Autophradatesstruppen schließen wollen, dieser sei zuvor möglicherweise an die Stelle des vom König mit besagten speziellen Aufgaben (Aspis; Paphlagonien?; Pisidien?) betrauten Datames als Oberkommandierender der Ägyptenarmee getreten; dagegen glaubt Debord (1999: 365 n. 484), Autophradates habe seine provinziellen Verbände mit denen der Expeditionstruppen verbunden.

<sup>49</sup> Van der Spek 1998: 253-255 verbindet den astronomischen Tagebucheintrag No. -366 A Col. II des Jahres 367 mit Polyainos VII.21.3. Skeptisch BHach II: 93.

<sup>50</sup> Polyainos VII.21.3.

zu Kappadokien und Kilikien (Vater Kamisares und Sohn Datames werden von Nepos als Statthalter "des an Kappadokien angrenzenden Teils Kilikiens, den die Leukosyrer bewohnen," bezeichnet [*Dat.* 1.1]) Sinn.<sup>51</sup> Die Rebellion des Datames ist, da stimme ich Moysey zu, erst mit dem zweiten und dritten Münztyp zu fassen.<sup>52</sup> Durch sie geriert sich Tarkumuwa/Datames als Beauftragter des Ana bzw. als vom (iranischen) Farnah Begünstigter. Ein Anspruch auf den Achaimenidenthron ist mit diesem Hinweis nicht verbunden, und es besteht auch keine Veranlassung, aufgrund der Münzen und ihrer Bilder die historische Rolle des Datames in den Satrapenaufständen überzubewerten.<sup>53</sup> Der Rebell spielt allein eine Rolle im engeren südostanatolischen Zusammenhang, und nur auf diesen Raum scheinen sich auch seine politischen Ambitionen bezogen zu haben.<sup>54</sup> Seine Euphratüberquerung bleibt Episode und dient wohl nur der Absicherung des eigenen Territoriums,<sup>55</sup> die Verbindungen zu anderen Aufständischen (Ariobarzanes) sind eher lose, allein sein militärisches Geschick (Guerillakrieg?)<sup>56</sup> läßt ihn sich für einige Jahre (bis zu seiner Ermordung<sup>57</sup> 361 v.Chr.)<sup>58</sup> gegen Autophradates (367 v.Chr.?)<sup>59</sup> und Artabazos (362/1?)<sup>60</sup> in Kappadokien behaupten.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>51</sup> Zu den offiziellen Funktionen des Datames, vor allem zu der Frage nach einer möglichen Statthalterschaft in Kappadokien (vgl. Diod. XV.91.2) und ihrer Datierung, vgl. Debord 1999: 105ff.

<sup>52</sup> Allerdings bin ich anderer Meinung, was die Flügelscheibe und die Ziele des Rebellen angeht.

<sup>53</sup> In dieser Hinsicht kritisiert Debord (1999: 362f.) Moysey (1986: u.a. 21 n. 1) zu Recht.

<sup>54</sup> Vgl. Weiskopf 1982: 424; Debord 1999: 365.

<sup>55</sup> So auch Debord 1999: 363.

<sup>56</sup> Debord 1999: 363.

<sup>57</sup> Nep. *Dat.* 10-11.

<sup>58</sup> So die übliche Datierung (etwa Weiskopf 1989: 97); Debord 1999: 365 glaubt eher an die Jahre 360/59.

<sup>59</sup> Weiskopf (1989: 95): 368 v.Chr.

<sup>60</sup> So etwa Sekunda 1988: 50 und Weiskopf 1989: 97. Nach Debord 1999: 365 "au mieux à partir de 360."

<sup>61</sup> Ob man aus Nep. *Dat.* 8.6 (... *tamen condicionem accepit seque ad Artaxerxem legatos missurum dixit. Sic bellum, quod rex adversus Datamen susceperat, sedatum est*) und 9.1 (*At rex, quod implacabile odium in Datamen susceperat, ... insidiis interficere studuit*) schließen kann, Datames habe seine Ambitionen aufgegeben, möchte ich bezweifeln. Nepos stellt, hier wie an anderen Stellen, den Großkönig als den Verantwortlichen für die Eskalation und das Ende des Datames dar.

T. Schmitt vertritt in seinem Beitrag die These, die Ansprüche und Maßnahmen des Datames/Tarkumuwa seien nicht zuletzt gegen den kilikischen Syennesis gerichtet gewesen; dieser habe möglicherweise damals sein Leben verloren. Mit seiner Ansicht, die dem Großkönig in Loyalität verbundene kilikische Dynastie habe – über die letzte Erwähnung eines Syennesis im Zusammenhang der Erhebung Kyros' d.J. 401 v.Chr. hinaus<sup>62</sup> – bis in die 460er Jahre fortbestanden, befindet sich der deutsche Kollege übrigens in guter Gesellschaft,<sup>63</sup> allerdings nicht mit seiner These, Tarkumuwa/Datames sei der Gegenspieler des Syennesis gewesen.

Für das Jahr 351 v.Chr. ist Mazaios als τῆς Κιλικίας ἄρχων bezeugt,<sup>64</sup> ein Münztyp<sup>65</sup> kennzeichnet ihn (später) als MZDY ZY 'L 'BRNHR' WHLK (Abb. 7).<sup>66</sup>



Abb. 7: Baal-Prägung des Mazaios aus Tarsos.

Unabhängig von der Frage, ob es sich bei ihm um "un vero e proprio satrapo"<sup>67</sup> gehandelt hat oder nicht,<sup>68</sup> künden die ihm von Artaxerxes III. übertragenen

<sup>62</sup> Xen. *Anab.* 1.2.12, 2.21, 2.26-7; Diod. XIV.20.2-3.

<sup>63</sup> Lemaire & Lozachmeur 1990: 146; Casabonne 1995: 147-172; HEP: 1015; Le Rider 1997: 156. Ihr Hauptargument ist, daß wir bis zu Mazaios (nach 361 v.Chr.) nichts über eine (reguläre) Satrapie Kilikien wissen.

<sup>64</sup> Diod. XVI.42.1.

<sup>65</sup> Zur Münzprägung des Mazaios vgl. Mildenberg 1990/91 sowie Le Rider 1997: 154f.

<sup>66</sup> Mildenberg 1990/91: pl. 2.5; Le Rider 1997: pl. 2.17.

<sup>67</sup> Desideri & Jasink 1990: 198; Mildenberg 1990/91: 10; Bing 1998: 65 n. 72; Briant 2000: 268.

<sup>68</sup> Diodor XVI.41.2 bezeichnet in ein und demselben Satz Mazaios als ἄρχων von Kilikien, Belesys als σατράπης von Syrien. Deshalb vorsichtig: Le Rider 1997: 159:

Aufgaben von der Überzeugung des Großkönigs, die Regelung der Angelegenheiten in Kilikien nach der Ermordung des Datames und dem Ende der Syennesis-Dynastie sei so bedeutsam und diffizil, daß sie nur einem besonders fähigen und loyalen Untertanen anvertraut werden könne. Immerhin: das Farnah des Großkönigs hatte sich als siegreich gegenüber dem des Tarkumuwa/Datames erwiesen, Artaxerxes und Mazaios durften sich weiter in der Gunst der Götter wähen.

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"il est possible qu'ici il existe entre eux une difference;" vgl. aber p. 161. T. Schmitt (Schmitt [im Druck]) hält dagegen, nicht zuletzt unter Verweis auf die ausführliche Münzlegende, die Funktion des Mazaios für neu und außergewöhnlich. Die Aufschrift einer Münze aus Hierapolis, wo Mazaios lediglich als der erscheint, der "über die Transeuphratene gesetzt ist" (MZDY ZY 'L 'BRNHR') (Bordreuil 1998), ist als verkürzte, lokale Ausdrucksweise zu verstehen (so, zu Recht, Briant 2000: 268) und nicht als Hinweis auf den späteren Verlust Kilikiens im Kampf gegen Alexander (so Bordreuil 1998: 223).

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## A GLANCE AT NORTHWESTERN ASIA MINOR DURING THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

Deniz Kaptan – Reno

*It is useful to be cautious in the terminology used,  
since in successive phases of scholarship  
such terms very often tend to develop into 'factoids'*  
Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993: 381

In the past few years an increasing number of finds, some of them bearing Achaemenid Persian features, have been unearthed in northwestern Asia Minor. These impressive finds, in particular the sarcophagi found during the rescue excavations of several tumuli around the ancient Granikos plain near Biga, supplement the already well-known corpus of reliefs from the Daskyleion area, which, originally, belonged to funerary contexts. The publications of all these finds have already presented thorough analyses of their iconography and styles (table 1).<sup>1</sup> This paper aims to look at a selection of these new and old finds together in order to sketch an overview of the present state of archaeological research of the Achaemenid period in the region. By doing so, I am hoping to pose questions suggested by this selection that future research will undoubtedly explore in greater detail.

In 1968 Jürgen Borchhardt began his discussion on the reliefs from the Daskyleion area (nos. I-II, VI-VII, X-XIII) and Cilicia with a fundamental remark (Borchhardt 1968: 179): "Um zu einer Deutung der hier besprochenen Reliefs zu gelangen, müssen wir uns fragen, welches Gedankengut welcher Völker sich hinter den Darstellungen verbirgt." At first glance this quote may sound simply like a reminder of a basic principle of archaeological research. On the other hand, it is particularly important to bear this in mind when dealing with the archaeology of a region where the ethnographic pattern is known to have been

<sup>1</sup> See the select bibliography in table 1 and below. The publication of Ş. Karagöz's dissertation, *Kleinasiatische gräko-persische Kunstwerke im archäologischen Museum von Istanbul* (Vienna University, Department of Classical Archaeology 1992; in press by Akademie Verlag, Berlin) will also contribute to this area.

so diverse. After the collapse of the Bronze Age palatial systems, the coastline of western Asia Minor continued to have its Greek contacts and Greek settlements whereas the area inland appears to have sheltered the newcomers of the Iron Age as well as the survivors of the Bronze Age (Mellink 1991: 618-22): Phrygians, Lydians, Mysians and Bithynians, to name a few from the northwest, as mentioned in Greek sources. Even during the post-classical periods the areas where these groups had a history of settlement were defined by their names such as Mysia and Phrygia. Being aware of the presence of various groups leads one to presume that their beliefs and customs could also be different from one another or some degree of cultural nuance might be observed. In some cases, however, these issues are very difficult to pinpoint archaeologically. To all of these people, the Persian arrival introduced a new challenge that was unknown before, being under the rule of a power whose homeland and center lay beyond the orbit of the Aegean and Asia Minor.<sup>2</sup> In this respect any attempt to explore the cultural receptivity of all sides to one another also becomes a challenge particularly where ethnographic complexities are concerned.<sup>3</sup> The funerary monuments listed below illustrate this complexity and provide clues about how the mechanism of cultural receptivity may have worked.

The funerary monuments and reliefs can be broadly categorized in two major groups (see fig. 1): 1) the stelai and other relief fragments from Daskyleion (Ergili) and its surroundings; 2) the tumuli excavated in the Biga area (around the ancient Granikos plain) to the west of the satrapal capital.<sup>4</sup>

<i>Stele/relief</i>	<i>Theme</i>	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Select Bibliography</i>
I Aksakal, IAM 5764, 'Elnaf' stele	procession	Aramaic	Akurgal 1966: 147-56; Borchhardt 1968: 192-4, pls. 41, 42.2, 44.2, 47.2; Nollé 1992: S1 pls. 1-2; Lemaire 2001: 21g.
II Aksakal, IAM 5763, stele	a) procession b) banquet		Akurgal 1966: pls. 36-7; Borchhardt 1968: 196-9, pls. 40.1, 50; Nollé 1992: S2 pls. 31a-b.

<sup>2</sup> On complexities of ruling the region during the Achaemenid period, local officials in Persian service and recalcitrant Anatolians such as the Mysians, see Sekunda 1988: 175-178; *idem* 1989: 92-93; Keen 1998: 90-91, 95; Debord 1999: 91-104, 239-253; Briant 2002: 596, 639-40, 642, 730.

<sup>3</sup> On aspects of cultural receptivity during the Achaemenid period, see *e.g.*, Root 1979; *idem* 1991; Miller 1997; Dusinberre 1999; BHach II: 166-206.

<sup>4</sup> Stelai and reliefs marked with an asterisk (\*) are fragmentary.

III Sultaniye, stele	a) procession b) hunting	Aramaic	Altheim-Stiehl <i>et al.</i> 1983: 1-23, pl. 1a-b; Nollé 1992: S3 pls. 4-6.
IV Dereköy, stele*	a) hunting? b) banquet		Cremer 1984: 89-100; Nollé 1992: S4 pl. 7a.
V Ergili, IAM 5963, stele*	procession		Akurgal 1966: 149, pl. 39.2; Borchhardt 1968: 192, pl. 44.1; Nollé 1992: S5 pl. 7b.
VI Aksakal, IAM 5762, stele	a) procession b) banquet? c) hunting		Akurgal 1966: pl. 34.2; Borchhardt 1968: pls. 40.2, 46.2-3, 48; Nollé 1992: S6 pl. 8.
VII Çavuşköy, stele*	a) hunting b) banquet		Hasluck 1906: 26-7, pl. 6; Akurgal 1961: 172, fig. 442; Borchhardt 1968: pl. 53.1; Nollé 1992: S7 pls. 9-10.
VIII Muradiye, stele*	a) hunting b) banquet		Cremer 1984: pl. 6b; Nollé 1992: S8 pl. 11.
IX Ergili- <i>Manes</i> , stele*	banquet	Phrygian	Gusmani & Polat 1999: 137-62; Bakır 2001: 174, fig. 7.
X Ergili, IAM 2358, frieze*	procession		Macridy 1913: 583; Akurgal 1961: 171, fig. 116; Borchhardt 1968: 199, pls. 43.2, 46.1, 45.1; Nollé 1992: F1 pls. 12-13c.
XI Ergili, IAM 5352, frieze*	procession		Akurgal 1956: 23, pl. 11b; Nollé 1992: F2 pl. 13d.
XII Ergili, IAM 2392, frieze*	procession		Macridy 1913: 583, no. 3; Borchhardt 1968: 200f., pl. 52.2; Nollé 1992: F4 pl. 14b.
XIII Yeniceköy, frieze*	hunting or battle		Munro 1912: 66, fig. 2; Borchhardt 1968: 205-6; Nollé 1992: F5 pl. 15a-b.
XIV Vezirhan, stele	a) banquet b) hunting	Phrygian and Greek	Asgari <i>et al.</i> 1983: B146; Neumann 1997; BHach II: 34
XV Ergili, IAM 5391, stele*	ritual		Nollé 1992: F3 pl. 14a.
XVI Ergili, IAM 2361, stele* (?)	ritual		Macridy 1913: 583; Borchhardt 1968: 201-3, pl. 57; Nollé 1992: F6 pl. 15c.
XVII Ergili, stele*	presentation?/ banquet?		Bakır 2001: 174, fig. 6.

Table 1: catalogue of stelai and relief fragments in the Daskyleion area.



### 1. The stelai and relief fragments from Daskyleion (Ergili)

Table 1 provides a summarized catalogue of seventeen selected stelai and reliefs from the region of the satrapal capital. The stelai, which probably had been placed in front of tumulus burials as markers, were apparently removed from their original location for reuse. Most of the stelai and relief fragments were found in the immediate vicinity of Daskyleion/Ergili. In fact, eight of them come from the site itself. The Vezirhan stele (no. XIV) is the only one which comes from a comparatively distant area.<sup>5</sup> Twelve out of eighteen reliefs are fragmentarily preserved mostly due to their reuse in the subsequent periods. Four stelai bear inscriptions: two in Aramaic, one in Phrygian and one bilingual stele in Phrygian and Greek.<sup>6</sup> The inscriptions in Aramaic give Iranian and Semitic names while the other two in the Greek and Phrygian inscriptions suggest a local background. The variety in the origin of the names on the stelai, on the false door of a tomb and on the inscribed seal impressions from Daskyleion already indicates the presence of a cosmopolitan community during the Persian period.<sup>7</sup> Broadly speaking, all the reliefs date from the fifth century down into the fourth century BC based on style and paleographic analyses.<sup>8</sup> The stelai and frieze fragments represent five major themes: procession, banquet, ritual, hunting and battle. Procession, banquet and hunting are the most common themes represented on the stelai. It seems that the most preferred layout was a three-register presentation of these themes as on Aksakal, IAM 5762 (no. VI).<sup>9</sup>

The Iranian riding habit consisting of a tunic over trousers and a bashlyk frequently appears in the scenes. The horsemen are consistently shown in this kind of costume in the battle and hunting scenes, whereas the priests in the

<sup>5</sup> Asgari *et al.* 1983: B146. The stele is not fully published. For the inscriptions see Neumann 1997. The find spot links the stele more to the heartland of Phrygia rather than Hellespontine Phrygia.

<sup>6</sup> Most recently: Lemaire 2001; Gusmani & Polat 1999; Neumann 1997.

<sup>7</sup> The inscribed door: Altheim & Cremer 1985; Lemaire 2001: 26-9. Inscribed seal impressions from Daskyleion: Balkan 1959; Lemaire 2001: 32-4; AchHist XII.1: 173-4; Röllig and Schmitt in AchHist XII.1: 194-209.

<sup>8</sup> The dating of the reliefs has been controversial. The typology of the volute and palmettes of the anthemion stelai (nos. I, V, XVII) could only provide a *terminus post quem* since the stelai must have been transported to the region half-finished with the main carving zone blank (Nollé 1992: 129-130).

<sup>9</sup> Dentzer noted that these themes accompany each other on the Neo-Assyrian palace reliefs. Neo-Hittite reliefs also share similar features. They show banquet, warfare and hunting scenes in connection with each other (Dentzer 1982: 49; Cremer 1984: 95; Nollé 1992: 87).

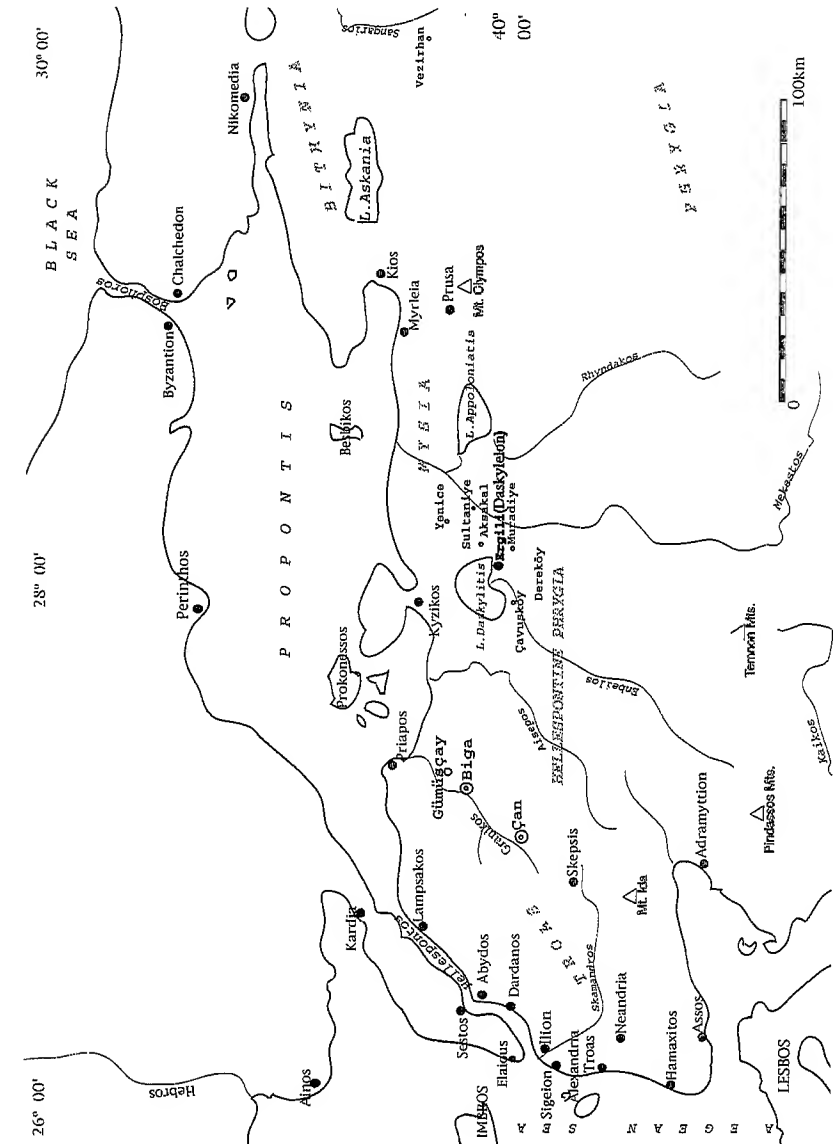


Fig. 1: Map of northwestern Asia Minor.

ritual scenes wear an additional overcoat with false sleeves. In the procession scenes only some of the figures appear to be clad in the Iranian riding habit (nos. I, III, IV, VI, X). The banquet scenes lack this costume. The saddle cloth, knotted tail and clipped mane of the horses as well as their extended gallop posture also reflect Near Eastern/Persian traditions.

Although the themes of hunting, battle, banquet and procession are generally regarded as scenes glorifying the life of the deceased and depicting the final voyage after death, there are iconographic complexities mostly stemming from the obscurities in our knowledge of Anatolian and Persian religious practices in the region. For example, the procession and banquet, which are repeatedly represented on the Daskyleion stelai, have been viewed from different standpoints.<sup>10</sup> In many of these scenes figures on foot accompany a two-wheeled vehicle. If these two-wheeled vehicles are the kind of carts (*hamamasa*) used for women to travel, as M. Nollé suggested, what aspects of 'travel' are we observing here (Tappeiner 1986; Nollé 1992: 60-8)? Several tumuli from western Asia Minor, including the one at Gümüşçay-Kızöldün, yielded dismantled parts of chariots and wheels placed in the burial



Fig. 2: Stele from Aksakal near Daskyleion (IAM 5763); after Borchhardt 1968: pl. 50.

<sup>10</sup> The procession scenes on these stelai have traditionally been related to *ekphora* (Akurgal 1966; Borchhardt 1968: 172, 186). M. Nollé, who sees them also as an episode from the life of the deceased, studies these scenes under three categories: a) *Austritt*, b) *Defilé*, c) *Wagenzug*. These seem to define sub-categories for the various aspects of procession in general. The representation of ushering an animal such as a horse (e.g. nos. IV-V) in fact parallels the procession of gift bearers on the reliefs of Persepolis as Nollé also stresses (Nollé 1992: 72-6, 88-92). See also Metzger 1971: 513-20.

chambers, a practice which seems to have been consistent in the region.<sup>11</sup> Perhaps these wheels or the other dismantled parts of vehicles were meant to substitute for the actual chariot of the deceased and his favorite companions.

The stele IAM 5763 (no. II, here fig. 2), evokes similar types of questions in both of its registers. The first register shows two attendants clad in long garments following the heavy-looking vehicle with a rounded top; the second shows a banquet scene. In the center of the latter scene a reclining man and a seated woman clad in a long veil and a dentate crown are shown. Two servants and a dinos on a stand frame the scene. One of the servants wears a long garment as do those in the first register behind the chariot. They have short hair and no beard. It is likely that these figures represent women.<sup>12</sup> If so, this particular stele seems to pronounce the presence of women in both registers as the enigmatic central figure wearing a crown also represents a woman. We should pose a few questions again since her identity has long been debated.<sup>13</sup> Is she simply the wife of the deceased depicted behind her reclining on the couch? Are we observing a syncretic image stemming from the Neo-Assyrian and North Syrian/Neo-Hittite iconography? Is she related to a series of images of women wearing a crown and long veil on a number of Persian and Persianizing works? Does she represent a deity?

## 2. The tumuli excavated in the Biga area

The second group of finds from the region are burials excavated by the Çanakkale Museum in the last ten years around the Granikos plain, the Kızöldün and Dedetepe tumuli near Gümüşçay and the Çan tumulus to the south of the first two (fig. 1). The first one yielded a marble sarcophagus,<sup>14</sup> which has already taken a prominent place even in survey books on Greek art and archaeology for

<sup>11</sup> Balıkesir-Üçpınar and Sardis Bintepeler Tumuli: Kökten-Ersoy 1998; Aizanoi: Arman 1998: 20; Gümüşçay-Kızöldün tumulus: see *infra*. See also Root 1999: 176-9 and Nagel & Jacobs 1989: 379-89 for discussions about the meaning of the representation of the 'wheel' in Achaemenid art.

<sup>12</sup> Nollé 1992: 18, 88-89. Dolunay (1967: 104), Akurgal (1966: 151), Borchhardt (1968: 196-198) saw them as men clad in long garb. For a summary of these discussions, see Nollé 1992: 18, nn. 19-24.

<sup>13</sup> Borchhardt 1968: 197-9; Pfuhl & Möbius 1977: 9 no. 4; Dentzer 1982: 271, 540, 562-64; Altheim-Stiehl *et al.* 1983: 8; Cremer 1984: 98-100; von Gall 1981/83; Nollé 1992: 82f.; AchHist xii.1: 50-54.

<sup>14</sup> Sevinç in Özgen & Öztürk 1996: 56-57; Sevinç 1996.

its extraordinary quality relief carving (Pedley 2002: 191-2, fig. 6.63). One of the longer sides shows the sacrifice of Priam's daughter Polyxena, and mourners on the short side. The second long side represents a ceremony by women interpreted as the 'funeral celebration.' It shows a seated woman receiving gifts and dancing warriors and musicians.<sup>15</sup> The short side following this scene represents two women seated on a couch with female attendants behind. Probably dating to 520-500 BC, this is the oldest known sarcophagus with figural decoration from Asia Minor. Although the burial was robbed, a few items were left untouched. By one of the long sides of the sarcophagus were fragments of a dismantled chariot including two wheels, placed one above the other (Sevinç 1996: 252, 254, fig. 5). In a different part of the same tumulus a second and a smaller sarcophagus dated to the middle of the fifth century was also excavated (Sevinç *et al.* 1999).

The Dedetepe tumulus which was also robbed in antiquity has a chamber built of marble blocks and two klinai with painted decoration.<sup>16</sup> This decoration finds its counterparts in western Asia Minor and Greece. The items left behind by the robbers are significant. The wooden furniture fragments and an ivory deer protome are of Persian type (Sevinç *et al.* 1998: 312-313, figs. 8-11). Based on the pottery sherds the tomb has been dated to 480-460 BC.

The third tumulus is located near Çan to the south of Gümüşçay. The chamber and the sarcophagus in the tumulus were vandalized in 1998 (Körpe *et al.* 2001; Sevinç *et al.* 2001). Thanks to the efforts of the Çanakkale Museum the two reliefs of the sarcophagus with the original painting still intact were rescued and a circular tomb chamber was re-excavated. Unfortunately, no other objects accompanying the remains of the sarcophagus could be recovered. Roman period sherds found in the chamber indicated that, like many others, this tomb had been looted in antiquity. The reliefs of the sarcophagus represent hunting and battle scenes in which the hunters and the victorious warrior are shown in Persian attire (figs. 3-4). Based on the stylistic analysis of the reliefs the sarcophagus has been dated to the first quarter of the fourth century BC.

<sup>15</sup> For a brief discussion and comparison of the scene with an Archaic period relief from Chiusi, see Gökay 1999: 24, n. 71.

<sup>16</sup> Sevinç in Özgen & Öztürk 1996: 56-57; Sevinç *et al.* 1998.

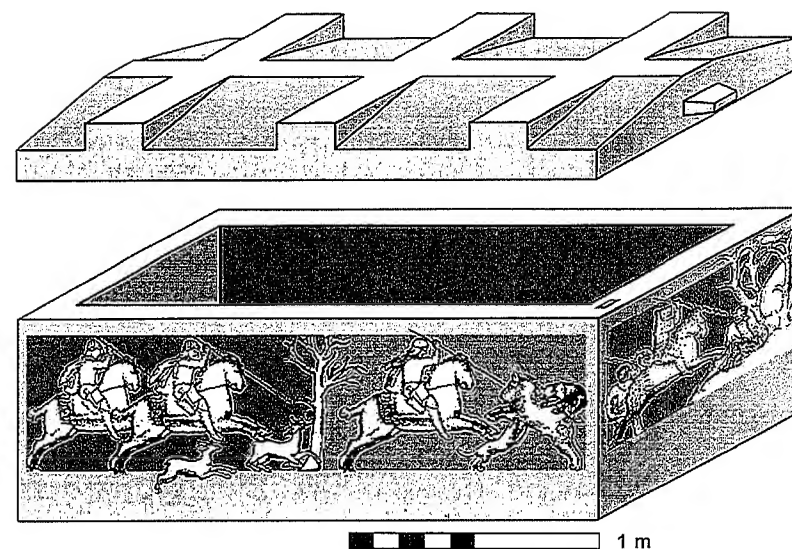


Fig. 3: The Çan sarcophagus, elevation; after Sevinç *et al.* 2001: 389, fig. 1.



Fig. 4: The battle scene on the Çan sarcophagus; after Sevinç *et al.* 2001: 396, fig. 11.

*Styles and themes in conjunction with chronological aspects*

The stelai from the area of Daskyleion exhibit varying degrees of artistic quality (Nollé 1992: 105-118). Many of them were carved in a flat-cut style that required additional painting for the details. The financial capability of the clientele may have played a role in the selection of stelai since some of the reliefs are of average and below-average quality while others display finer workmanship.

The reliefs on the sarcophagi from Kızöldün and Çan, which are separated by more than one century from each other, display much finer workmanship. These two works, when viewed together with the Daskyleion reliefs, provide interesting clues about the notions of theme selection and changes in the artistic repertory of the region.

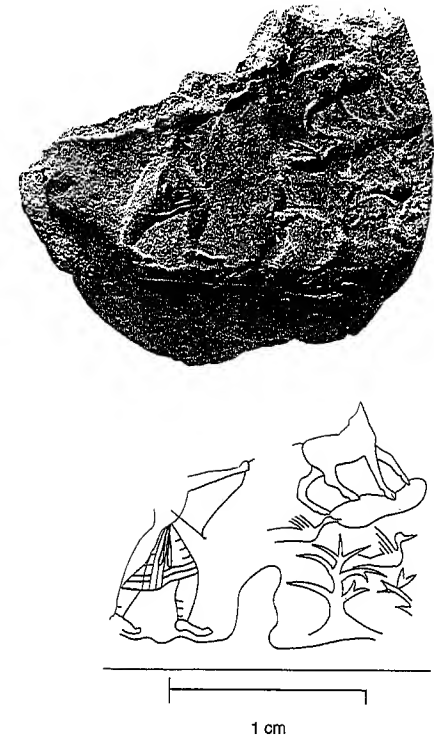
The themes of procession and banquet, repeatedly shown on the Daskyleion reliefs, seem to have been chosen for their specific meaning for the funerary rituals practiced in the region. One of the short sides of the Polyxena sarcophagus also represents some aspects of banqueting in a funerary context (Sevinç *et al.* 1996: figs. 14-5). As illustrated by the reliefs from the Daskyleion area, representations of banquets consistently continue to appear on the funerary monuments during the Achaemenid period. Persian features appear on the furniture (nos. III, VII[?], VIII-IX) in accord with the wooden furniture fragments found in the Dedetepe tumulus. Another striking detail can be observed on the most recently found fragment from Daskyleion which shows an attendant carrying a portable incense burner in a scene reminiscent of presentation and banquet scenes (Bakır 2001: 174, 178, fig. 6).

The Iranian riding habit appears in the friezes depicting procession and hunting, often together with the traditional costume of the region (*e.g.*, no. VII). In some of the procession scenes a tableau similar to the procession of the gift bearers in the Persepolis Apadana reliefs has been applied (*e.g.*, nos. IV-V). A completely new theme is the representation of priests (*magoi*) performing rituals in which the figures are shown in Iranian garb (nos. XV-XVI).

It is clear that during the fifth century BC Persian traits infiltrated the society in the region, but the process seems to have advanced gradually. Moreover, their profundity and what they in practice meant to the locals remain still uncertain. The best evidence for the gradual change can be gathered from an observation on the two sarcophagi from the Biga area. Dating back to the early years of the Persian domination, the rendering of realia on the Gümüüşay-Polyxena sarcophagus lacks any Persian affinities; its renditions rather shed light more on the Greek artistic styles in western Asia Minor. Thanks to the discovery of the painted Çan sarcophagus dated about five generations later we are able to follow the artistic production, style and theme selection on the same type of archaeological medium. Dated to the first

quarter of the fourth century BC the painted Çan sarcophagus stylistically continues to follow the contemporary trends of Greek art as the master(s) of the Polyxena sarcophagus did. In this respect we see no change as compared to the Polyxena sarcophagus. The dramatic change, however, occurs with the selection of the themes, as one side shows hunting and the other a battle scene. In both scenes the victorious horsemen appear in full Iranian riding habit. It has been already stressed that one of the most popular themes on the reliefs from the Daskyleion area was hunting. As we discussed elsewhere in detail, hunting and battle were the two related themes that became particularly prominent during the Achaemenid period as they were widely observed on seals (AchHist XII.1: 74-99). The seal images on the bullae from Daskyleion, which in some respects serve as a data bank for the Achaemenid Period in the region, provide significant links. Thirty-two discrete seal images, which form the second largest group in the Daskyleion seal corpus, represent various aspects of hunt and battle (Kaptan *loc.cit.*). The hunters and warriors in Iranian riding habit attack beasts and enemies in the same manner. One

of the seals in the Daskyleion corpus (DS 110) shows the hunt in a landscape setting (figs. 5-6; AchHist XII.1: 158, 161-5; 2: 122). The hunter garbed in Iranian riding habit is shown in a wooded area; he and his victim stand on two separate ground lines represented as rocky outcroppings. To the right of the scene there are two birds, one about to perch on a tree, and the other flying over it. Reminiscent of relief sculpture and wall-painting traditions, the distribution of the figures over undulated ground lines and rocky outcroppings in a landscape setting is one of the most remarkable features of this seal. Viewing DS 110 alongside the battle scene on the Çan sarcophagus is also revealing. It seems these two works shared similar artistic conventions as well as the conveyance of



Figs. 5-6: DS 110 on Erg. 329, Daskyleion

the spatial relationship among the figures. The rendering of the trees on the sarcophagus is stunningly, but not surprisingly, similar to that on the Daskyleion seal (DS 110). The branches are long curvilinear stalks with no leaves. The fallen victim on the Çan sarcophagus is shown on a rocky terrain. Moreover a bird, seemingly a raptor, also perches on the tree behind him.<sup>17</sup> As suggested earlier, all these features seem to point to a common source in the region from which the artists of various media were apparently adapting their works (AchHist XII.1: 161-4). Taken together, these finds have broadened our perspective immensely and lead towards a better understanding of the iconography and artistic styles of the region during the Achaemenid period.

In summary, the funerary monuments reveal that the elite in the Northwest seem to have adopted some Persian customs and symbols of Achaemenid power more gradually after the middle of the fifth century BC. This observation is not only based on the funerary arts of the region but also other finds. For example, the Dedetepe tumulus which yielded wooden furniture fragments and implements of Persian type reflect the preference of the tomb owner's social class. Overall, the finds summarized above provide a glimpse of a certain degree of Persianization in the upper stratum of the society after the 480s, particularly in the second half of the fifth and early fourth centuries BC. These dates correspond to the time when a majority of the bullae with seal impressions from Daskyleion had enclosed documents and commodities in the satrapal capital (Kaptan 2001: 57-62; *idem* AchHist XII.1: 108-193). The ongoing Daskyleion excavations and future projects in the region will, it is hoped, further illuminate aspects of Persianization, the nature and extent of this process as well as the local traditions.

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<sup>17</sup> Sevinç *et al.* 2001: 397-99.

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## IMPORTED PAINTED POTTERY FROM ASIA MINOR TO DASKYLEION IN THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD\*

R. Gül Gürtekin-Demir – İzmir

Daskyleion was a center rich in imported painted pottery that arrived from a variety of production centers in mainland Greece (mainly Attica and Corinth), Anatolia (Lydia, Phrygia as well as some unidentified centers), and Eastern Greece (mainly Ionia). This wide range of pottery began to reach Daskyleion long before it became a satrapal capital. Imported painted pottery from Asia Minor presents less variety of painting conventions in the Achaemenid period when compared to the rich assemblage of well-known styles, classes and schools of the Eastern Greek, Lydian and Phrygian regions<sup>1</sup> that arrived at Daskyleion before that time. It is not difficult, however, to define the reasons for this alteration, since the local painted pottery tradition declines elsewhere in Asia Minor (mainly in the Eastern Greek, Lydian and Phrygian centers) in the Achaemenid period as well. Another reason is that the strong demand for Attic pottery (Black Figure, Red Figure, Intentional Glaze and Black Glaze wares) at Daskyleion probably resulted in its taking the place of many other painted pottery types, as is obvious from the large amount of imported Attic pottery excavated so far.<sup>2</sup> At Daskyleion a certain continuity in the use of some painted pottery conventions produced in Lydia (Sardis), and in southern Ionia (Miletus) in the Achaemenid period may be identified. The Streaked (nos. 1-4) and the

\* I would like to thank Prof. Tomris Bakır for permitting me to study the relevant pottery from Daskyleion, and for her encouragement during my work. All dates refer to the years or centuries BC. The abbreviations used in the catalogue are as follows: b(ottom); D(iameter); ext(erior); H(eight); int(erior); inv(entory); l(ength); L(ength); pres(erved); r(ight); th(ickness); t(op); W(idth). Clay color readings are based on the *Munsell Soil Color Charts* (1994 edition). All dimensions are given in meters.

<sup>1</sup> See Gürtekin 1996: 87-95; Bakır 1991: figs. 2-5; Akurgal 1987: pl. 3A for Eastern Greek pottery. For Lydian pottery from Daskyleion see Gürtekin-Demir 2002: 111-43. Phrygian painted pottery at Daskyleion, which might have continued to be used in the Achaemenid period, has been excluded here.

<sup>2</sup> For Attic Black and Red Figured pottery from Daskyleion see Tuna-Nörling 1999.



Marbling wares (nos. 5-8), as well as the larger amount of lydia (nos. 9-29) that began to be produced before the mid-sixth century, but which continued to be used in the early part of the Achaemenid Period, constitute the Lydian Ware discussed in this article. On the other hand, only one group of Ionian painted pottery, Fikellura Ware (nos. 30-9), may be distinguished. Fikellura seems to be a style which was in use mainly in the second half of the sixth century. It is a well-known style that emerged after the end of the Wild Goat Style and follows the Orientalising conventions.

#### LYDIAN WARE

Lydian painted pottery at Daskyleion includes the so-called Early Fikellura, Ephesian, Ephesianising, Bichrome, Streaked and Marbling wares, as well as plain painted, unpainted and banded lydia. Most of the Lydian painted pottery at Daskyleion seems to have been produced at Sardis or its environs to judge from the close similarity of fabric, paint and slip with the pottery found locally at Sardis. However, a small percentage (a little over 15%) was produced at different places. Study of the close parallels with pottery found at Sardis and the archaeological evidence revealed at Daskyleion suggest that the Lydian pottery was imported from Sardis approximately from the last quarter of the seventh to the early fifth century. Early Fikellura, Ephesian and Ephesianising wares belong to a period prior to the mid-sixth century, i.e., the pre-Achaemenid period. Another class of Lydian painted pottery, Bichrome ware, probably started to come to Daskyleion around the late seventh century and continued to be imported from Sardis into the sixth. How far into the sixth century it continued to be imported is as yet unknown due to insufficient archaeological evidence. However, we may suppose that Bichrome ware was used at least in the early part of the second half of the sixth century, since there is some evidence that the Bichrome technique was still favored in the mid-sixth century at Sardis, and this might be the case at Daskyleion as well on the basis of parallel examples.<sup>3</sup>

Streaked and Marbling wares, as well as banded, plain painted and unpainted lydia, were preferred in the sixth and early fifth centuries at Daskyleion, and will be among the main concerns of this article.

<sup>3</sup> Gürtekin-Demir 2002: 119-22.

<i>period</i>	<i>percentage of Lydian pottery</i>
pre-Achaemenid (late 7th - mid 6th century)	85% (Early Lydian pottery)
Achaemenid, early phase (mid 6th-early 5th century)	15% (Late Lydian pottery)

Table 1: Lydian pottery at Daskyleion.

#### Technical Aspects

Two types of clay are attested for Lydian pottery in the Achaemenid period. The most frequent is the Sardis fabric with its golden mica, small limestone inclusions and orange-red color. Sardis fabric tends to be flaky or friable. Only one of the examples (no. 2) was made from different clay. It is fine and hard fired. The fabric tends to be porous, slightly micaceous and includes very tiny brownish-black grit or tiny lime flecks. There are other Lydian painted pottery examples with this fabric as well as another type of fabric with a highly micaceous inclusion dating to the pre-Achaemenid period.

Both Streaky (nos. 1-4) and Marbling (nos. 5-8) wares are rendered in the same painting technique: diluted iron-oxide based paint was used to decorate the vessel. After firing the paint could come out in a color-range from dark purplish brown to orange-red depending on the kiln temperature. The paint would be plainly brushed over all or part of the vessel in the Streaky technique. In the Marbling technique, however, adjacent curls and wavy lines, usually on a creamy-white slip, would be intentionally created. The same kind of iron-oxide paint is also applied on lydia (nos. 9-29).

The slip of Lydian ware in the pre-Achaemenid period varies from fine and thick creamy-white to diluted and coarse creamy-white. The former type is usually executed on the so-called Early Fikellura, Ephesian, Ephesianising and White Bichrome wares.<sup>4</sup> The creamy-white slip of late Lydian painted pottery is generally diluted and thinly applied. Additional color is rarely used in the Achaemenid period. It is observed on a Streaky-glazed skyphos' conical foot as a narrow band in additional white color (no. 3).

<sup>4</sup> Gürtekin-Demir 2002: 112-21, 138.



*Shape and Decoration*

Three shapes are attested in the late Lydian painted pottery repertoire: lydion, skyphos and amphora. There seems to be a gradual decrease in the quantity and variety of shapes during the Achaemenid period. The percentage of lydia found at Daskyleion was 79% during the pre-Achaemenid period; this decreases to 21% in the Early Achaemenid period. Skyphoi decrease from 85% to 15%. However, there seems to be an increase in the percentage of amphorai in the Achaemenid period from 33% to 67%.

*Lydia*

The most well-represented Lydian shape at Daskyleion is that of the lydion, popular for its unguent content.<sup>5</sup> This shape continues to be popular in the Achaemenid period. The earliest examples at Daskyleion belong to the first half of the sixth century, and have a flaring rim, a slightly out-curved neck, a spherical belly and a conical or long cylindrical foot.<sup>6</sup> This type of lydion is called 'fat-bellied' and was used in the sixth century.<sup>7</sup> A group of lydia at Daskyleion may be dated, according to the archaeological evidence (mentioned below), to the second half of the sixth century-early fifth century (nos. 10, 12, 15, 18, 20, 28). A third kind of lydion with an elliptically-compressed belly and a long cylindrical foot is identified as the later type of lydion by Greenewalt. It began to be produced no later than the late sixth century and continued to be used in the fifth.<sup>8</sup> At Daskyleion, the later type of lydion (nos. 11, 13-4, 16-7, 19, 21-7, 29) was favored at the same time as the fat-bellied lydion in the second half of the sixth century and in the early fifth. A lydion (no. 9) found in a looted tumulus in Yeniköy Bayırı near Manyas, west of Daskyleion, has been preserved completely. It has a flaring rim, a slightly out-curved neck, a slightly compressed belly and a conical foot. It may be paralleled to the Transitional lydia.<sup>9</sup>

The majority of the lydia have banded decoration. The narrow-banded lydia have spiral bands, often on a creamy-white slip (nos. 9-14, 16-8, 20-1).

<sup>5</sup> Lydia probably contained a kind of unguent, which may have been *baccaris* (see Masson 1962: F19).

<sup>6</sup> Gürtekin-Demir 2002: 139.

<sup>7</sup> Greenewalt 1966: 6-20.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*: 35-37.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*: 38-40, pl. I, fig. O.

The rest of the lydia are either unpainted (nos. 23-4, 27) or plain painted (nos. 22, 25-6, 28-9).

*Skyphoi*

The skyphos was one of the most popular Lydian open vessel shapes in the Achaemenid period, not only at Daskyleion (nos. 1-3) but also at another satrapal capital, Sardis. It was also much favored in pre-Achaemenid times. The rim is plain (no. 1). Prior to the Achaemenid period two types of base are observed: the ring base (no. 2) and the conical foot (no. 3). The later type indicates a Lydian character often executed in skyphoi, as well as in some other shapes, such as lydia, lekythoi, kraters, pyxides and amphorai.<sup>10</sup> Streaky-glazed pottery persisted in the Achaemenid period at Sardis as well.<sup>11</sup>

All Lydian skyphoi at Daskyleion in the Achaemenid period are painted in the Streaky-glazed technique. Streaky-glazed skyphoi are commonly painted all over, leaving only the handle zone reserved (no. 1). Additional white color is occasionally used in the Streaky-glazed vessels in a wide range of ornaments (such as dot-rosettes, petals, row of dots, parallel lines) before the Achaemenid period. However, additional white color is observed on a single Achaemenid example as well (no. 3).

*Amphorai*

Another Lydian shape that is of concern here is the amphora (nos. 4-5), of which two types are distinguished according to the rim profiles. One of them has a thickened rim, rectangular in cross-section, and is Streaky-glazed on the exterior (no. 4); the other has an out-curved rim, a vertical marbling decoration on the exterior, and short vertical lines over the rim (no. 5). There are only three examples of amphorai in the Lydian painted pottery repertoire, of which one example belongs to the pre-Achaemenid period.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Gürtekin 1998: 239, nos. 115-6 (pyxis); 241, no. 124 (lekythos); 275, no. 134 (krater); 276, no. 135 (amphora); Gürtekin-Demir 2001: pls. 20-1, figs. 1-4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*: 244-5.

<sup>12</sup> Gürtekin-Demir 2002: 139.

A number of unidentified closed vessel fragments are decorated with vertical marbling over a creamy-white slip (nos. 6-8). No. 6 has a subsidiary ornament in the form of a row of petals.

<i>pottery shapes</i>	<i>pre-Achaemenid</i>	<i>early Achaemenid</i>
Lydion	45%	73%
Skyphos	14%	10%
Dish	10%	/
Skyphos krater	1%	/
Krater	1%	/
Krateriskos	1%	/
Pitcher	1%	/
Amphora	1%	7%
Lekythos	1%	/
Lid	1%	/
Stand	1%	/
Unidentified open vessel fragments	5%	/
Unidentified closed vessel fragments	18%	10%

Table 2: *Shapes of Lydian painted pottery.*

### Dating

The majority of the Lydian painted pottery in this study was discovered in deposits dating to between the second half of the sixth century and the early fifth century (nos. 1-3, 5-8, 10, 12-3, 15, 17-8, 20, 26, 28).

The relatively-dated deposits were excavated at sectors F6, F6 North, F6 Northeast and F5; these are located on the northeastern part of the Hisartepe mound. The deposits were discovered together with datable imported Attic and Corinthian pottery.<sup>13</sup> Two datable deposits are identified from sector F6: the first deposit dates to between the second half of the sixth and the early fifth centuries; no. 2 was found here. The second dates to the late sixth-early fifth centuries, where nos. 1, 3, 10, 13, 20 and 28 were found. No. 5 was found in the deposit at trench F6 North which may be dated to the late sixth and the early fifth centuries. Trench F6 Northeast revealed two deposits, one of which is

<sup>13</sup> These deposits were studied in Gürtekin-Demir 2002: 140-1.

dated to the late sixth-early fifth centuries and the other to the early fifth century. No. 12 was discovered in F6 North, and nos. 15 and 26 in F6 Northwest. The last two deposits come from trench F5: no. 7 was discovered in a deposit dating to the second half of the sixth century and nos. 6, 8 and 17-8 were found in another deposit dating to the sixth-early fifth centuries.

Other late Lydian pottery, that was found outside any datable archaeological contexts, may be dated according to its parallels. Features like the elliptically-compressed belly (nos. 11, 14, 16, 19, 21-4 and 29), and cylindrical, long and solid foot (nos. 22, 24-5, 27) are "Late Lydion" characteristics that were used in the late sixth and the fifth centuries (mentioned above). No. 9 may be identified as a Transitional lydion, due to its slightly compressed belly. Parallels to no. 9 are dated between c.530-510.<sup>14</sup>

The Streaky-glazed amphora rim fragment with thickened mouth may be compared to the Samian type of amphora of the late sixth century.<sup>15</sup>

Both the archaeological evidence and the relative dating from the parallel examples suggest that the late Lydian painted pottery at Daskyleion was mainly used in the second half of the sixth and the early fifth centuries, and there is not enough archaeological evidence to push this date down further. However, some of the Late lydia (nos. 11, 14, 16, 19, 21-5, 27, 29) may have been used after the early fifth century, since their parallels are dated within the fifth century.

### Catalogue

1. Skyphos. Rim and body fragment (fig. 1.1).  
Trench F6 c1; BFO. Pres. H: 0.066; pres. L: 0.068; th: 0.004-0.006.  
Clay: light red (2.5 YR 6/8); micaceous. Glaze: red (2.5 YR 5/8) to dark reddish gray (2.5 YR 3/1). Ext.: Streaky-glaze except on the handle zone, which is left reserved. Int.: plain painted.
2. Skyphos. Base and lower body fragment (fig. 1.2).  
Trench F6; CIH. D (base): 0.054; pres. H: 0.027; th: 0.003-0.005.  
Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/8); slightly micaceous. Conical foot. Ext.: matt Streaky-glaze red (2.5 YR 4/8). Int.: parallel lines encircling the base.

<sup>14</sup> Greenewalt 1966: 40.

<sup>15</sup> Dupont 1999: 160, pl 5.2.

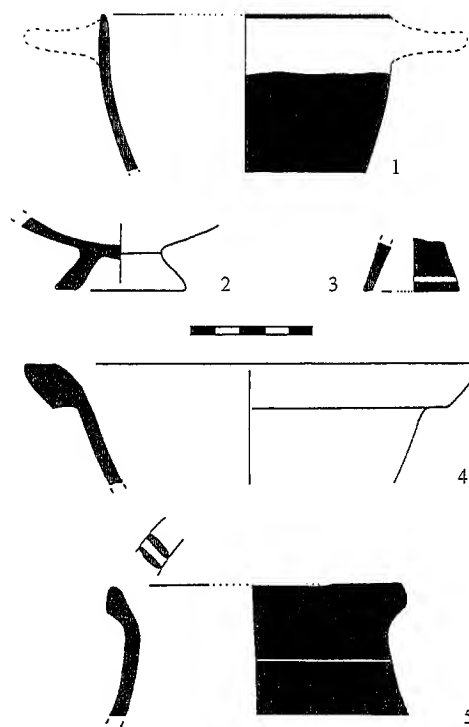


Fig. 1: Lydian Ware, profile drawings of nos. 1-5: Streaky-glazed skyphos (nos. 1-3); Streaky-glazed amphora (no. 4); Marbling amphora (no. 5).

6. Closed vessel. Shoulder fragment.  
Trench F5; BNK.  
Pres. L: 0.052; pres. W: 0.047; th: 0.006-0.007.  
Clay: yellowish red (5 YR 5/6); micaceous.  
Decoration: reddish brown (2.5 YR 4/4) on a very pale brown slip (10 YR 8/2-8/3). Ext.: from t. to b. single band bordering the lower part of petal row; vertical marbling.



3. Skyphos. Conical foot fragment (fig. 1.3).  
Trench F6 b1; BBU.  
Pres. H: 0.022; pres. W: 0.023; th: 0.004.  
Clay: light red (2.5 YR 6/8); micaceous. Glaze: red (2.5 YR 5/8) to reddish black (2.5 YR 2.5/1). Ext.: single horizontal line in added white over Streaky-glaze surface.
4. Amphora. Rim and neck fragment (fig. 1.4).  
Trench F6 b1; BZJ. Inv. 869.  
D (rim): 0.185; pres. H: 0.049; th: 0.005-0.007.  
Clay: very pale brown (10 YR 7/4); micaceous. Rim thickened out. Ext. and int.: glossy Streaky-glaze.
5. Amphora. Rim and neck fragment (fig. 1.5).  
Trench F6 north; CFU.  
Pres. H: 0.036; th: 0.007.  
Clay: very pale brown (10 YR 7/4); highly micaceous. Rim curved outwards. Int. and ext. slipped very pale brown (10 YR 8/2-8/3). Decoration: very dark gray (10 YR 3/1). Ext.: broad band on and below rim; vertical marbling. Int.: band below rim. Short and vertical lines over the rim.

7. Closed vessel. Body fragment.  
Trench F5; BTZ.  
Pres. L: 0.026; pres. W: 0.04; th: 0.007.  
Clay: yellowish red (5 YR 5/6); micaceous.  
Decoration: red (2.5 YR 4/6) on cream-white slip.  
Ext.: vertical marbling.
8. Closed vessel. Body fragment.  
Trench F5; BUK.  
Pres. L: 0.034; pres. W: 0.027; th: 0.008.  
Clay: yellowish red (5 YR 5/6); micaceous. Decoration: dark red (2.5 YR 3/6) over creamy white slip. Ext.: vertical marbling.
9. Lydion (see also fig. 2.9).  
Yeniköy Bayırı Tumulus I.  
D (rim): 0.05; D (foot): 0.03; H: 0.11  
Clay: yellowish red (5 YR 5/6).  
Decoration: reddish black to red (2.5 YR 2.5/1-5/8) over a creamy white slip. Rim and neck plain painted; narrow spiral bands over belly; lower body and foot plain painted; below the foot left blank.



## 10. Lydion. Neck and body fragment.

Trench F6; DCD. Pres. L: 0.052; pres. W: 0.041.

Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Decoration: red (10 R 5/8). Neck: plain red painted; narrow red spiral bands over creamy white slip on the upper body.

## 11. Lydion. Neck and body fragment.

Trench no. 18; DDP. Pres. L: 0.054; pres. W: 0.054.

Clay: light red (2.5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Narrow red (2.5 YR 5/8) spiral bands on the ext.

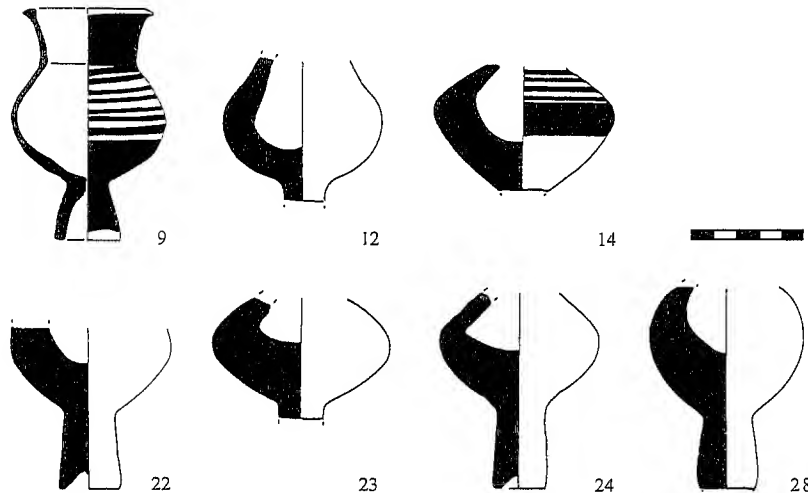


Fig. 2: Lydian lydia, profile drawings of nos. 9, 12, 14, 22-4, 28.

## 12. Lydion. Body and foot fragment (fig. 2.12).

Trench F6 Northeast; CML. D (belly): 0.071; pres. H: 0.062.

Clay: yellowish red (5 YR 5/6). Decoration red (2.5 YR 5/8). Narrow red spiral bands over creamy white slip on the upper body.

## 13. Lydion. Body fragment.

Trench F6/b-1; BCH. Pres. H: 0.056.

Clay: pale red (10 R 7/4); micaceous. Ext.: narrow reddish yellow spiral bands (5 YR 6/8) over creamy white slip.

## 14. Lydion. Body fragment (fig. 2.14).

Area between trench no. 1 and trench no. 3; BAO. Inv. no: 535. D. (belly): 0.081; pres. H: 0.06.

Clay: reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6); highly micaceous. Narrow red (10 R 5/8) spiral bands over creamy white slip on the upper body; single red band on the belly.

## 15. Lydion. Body fragment.

Trench F6 Northeast; CLU. Pres. L: 0.056; pres. W: 0.064.

Clay: yellowish red (5 YR 5/6); micaceous. Worn.

## 16. Lydion. Body fragment.

Trench F6; CII. Pres. H: 0.04.

Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Decoration: red (10 R 4/8). Narrow spiral bands over a creamy white slip on the upper body; plain red painted on the lower body.

## 17. Lydion. Body fragment.

Trench F5; BUK. Pres. L: 0.028; pres. W: 0.027.

Clay: yellowish red (5 YR 5/6). Narrow yellowish red (5 YR 5/8) spiral bands over creamy white slip.

## 18. Lydion. Body fragment.

Trench F5; BUK. Pres. L: 0.027; pres. W: 0.037.

Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Narrow light red (2.5 YR 6/8) spiral bands over a creamy white slip.

## 19. Lydion. Body fragment.

Area P7/105; BKL. Pres. L: 0.034; pres. W: 0.059.

Clay: yellowish red (5 YR 5/6). Red (10 R 4/8) spiral bands on the ext.

## 20. Lydion. Body fragment.

Trench F6/b-1; BCN. Pres. L: 0.049; pres. W: 0.041.

Clay: yellowish red (5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Narrow spiral bands in dark reddish gray to red (2.5 YR 3/1-5/8) over a creamy white slip.

## 21. Lydion. Body fragment.

Trench F6 Northeast; CGV. Pres. L: 0.049; pres. W: 0.036.

Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Narrow red (10 R 5/8) spiral bands over a creamy white slip.

## 22. Lydion. Body and foot fragment (fig. 2.22).

Trench F6; DCE. D (base): 0.03; pres. H: 0.074.

Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Partially preserved red (2.5 YR 5/8) paint on the ext.

## 23. Lydion. Body fragment (three joining pieces) (fig. 2.23).

Trench no. 22; DKT. D (belly): 0.078; pres. H: 0.055.

Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Not painted.

24. Lydion. Body and foot fragment (fig. 2.24).  
Surface find. D (Base): 0.024; pres. H: 0.089.  
Clay: light red (2.5 YR 6/8); micaceous. Not painted.
25. Lydion. Foot fragment.  
Trench F6 Northeast; CMS. D (base): 0.029; pres. H: 0.035.  
Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Plain red painted (2.5 YR 4/6).
26. Lydion. Foot fragment.  
Trench F6 Northeast; CLU. D (base): 0.026; pres. H: 0.031.  
Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); micaceous. Plain painted reddish black to red (2.5 YR 2.5/1-4/8).
27. Lydion. Foot fragment.  
Trench F6 East; CJH. D (base): 0.028; pres. H: 0.03.  
Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6); highly micaceous. Not painted.
28. Lydion. Body and foot fragment (fig. 2.28).  
Trench F6 c-1; BHA. D (base): 0.026; pres. H: 0.057.  
Clay: yellowish red (5YR 5/6). Partially preserved red (10 R 4/8) paint on the ext.
29. Lydion. Body fragment.  
Trench no. 25 (Terrace Wall); DNS. Pres. L: 0.041; pres. W: 0.056.  
Clay: reddish yellow (5 YR 6/6). Plain painted reddish black (10 R 2.5/1).

#### FIKELLURA WARE

In general, Eastern Greek pottery at Daskyleion includes many well-known classes and styles, such as Bird Bowls, Eye Bowls, Rosette Bowls, Ionian Cups, Wild Goat Style and Fikellura. The earliest examples belong to some fragments of Bird Bowls which may be dated to the late eighth century (pre-Achaemenid phase). Examples of Eastern Greek pottery other than the Fikellura Ware date to the seventh and the first quarter of the sixth centuries. The latest examples of Eastern Greek ware belong to the Fikellura group, which seem to appear around the mid-sixth century. Fikellura appears to be the only type of Eastern Greek ware that retains Orientalising style conventions, mainly the Middle Wild Goat Style, in the early part of the Achaemenid period.

R.M. Cook formerly subdivided the Middle Wild Goat style into two phases: Middle Wild Goat I and Middle Wild Goat II, the former ending in 625, and the latter in 600. Fikellura is directly influenced by the Middle Wild Goat II style, and the beginning of this style is dated to 560 by Cook, and to 550 by

Schaus.<sup>16</sup> This presented several problems: why was the Fikellura style influenced by Middle Wild Goat II and not by the Late Wild Goat Style (600-575), which is chronologically closer? How can one explain the gap between Middle Wild Goat II and Fikellura?

The results of the clay analyses of Archaic East Greek pottery showed that both Middle Wild Goat and Fikellura pottery were produced in Miletus, and Late Wild Goat pottery in northern Ionia.<sup>17</sup> This explained the first part of the problem. The gap between Middle Wild Goat and Fikellura could be filled with assumed Proto-, Pre- and Early Fikellura forerunners.<sup>18</sup> Other scholars suggested a longer duration for Middle Wild Goat Style.<sup>19</sup> Cook hypothesized a Middle Wild Goat Style III that lasted until the appearance of Fikellura style.<sup>20</sup>

The destruction of Miletus, the production center of Fikellura, occurred in 494. This date seems to be an absolute *terminus ante quem* for the Fikellura style as a whole.<sup>21</sup>

The fragmentary examples of 10 Fikellura vessels presented here were found in the Daskyleion excavations conducted between 1988-2001. The dating of the Fikellura ware from Daskyleion (discussed below) is based primarily on stylistic criteria from parallel examples. Unfortunately, there is insufficient evidence for dating based on archaeological finds in the excavations. There is only one piece (no. 34) that may be securely dated on the basis of archaeological evidence. No. 34 comes from trench F6, below a floor level and in a context with two imported Attic Black Figure pieces, a column krater and a lekane, both dating to the late sixth-early fifth centuries.<sup>22</sup>

#### Classification

R.M. Cook's and G.P. Schaus' studies remain the main sources for the classification and identification of Fikellura pottery, the former in the

<sup>16</sup> Cook 1992: 263; Schaus 1986: 284-8.

<sup>17</sup> Dupont 1983: 37.

<sup>18</sup> Greenewalt 1971: 155-80 (Early Fikellura); Kardara 1963: 197-8 (Proto-Fikellura); Hayes 1966: 42 (Pre-Fikellura).

<sup>19</sup> Walter-Karydi 1973: 2, 33; Dupont 1983: 38, n. 45.

<sup>20</sup> Cook 1992: 262.

<sup>21</sup> Schaus 1986: 288; Cook-Dupont 1998: 89.

<sup>22</sup> Tuna-Nörthing 1999: nos. 170B, 372.

determination of the individual classes, and the latter in the identification of the artists.<sup>23</sup> Fikellura ware found elsewhere may be helpful for comparison.

All the Fikellura examples from Daskyleion are fragmentary and do not inform us about the overall decoration scheme of the vases. It may be possible, however, to classify most of them according to their preserved decoration.

*Oinochoai with diagonally running bars and scale pattern* (nos. 30-1)

The bars running diagonally on a body fragment (no. 30), and the scale pattern on the shoulder fragment (no. 31) are reminiscent of Cook's 'Louvre Group' (Group S) oinochoai.<sup>24</sup> The scale pattern is also preferred on the amphorai,<sup>25</sup> but is limited to the belly zone. It has been suggested that the decoration scheme of vases in the Louvre Group was thought of as a bird. The scale pattern is placed centrally on one face of the vase below the neck, and would symbolize the breast of the bird. The diagonally running bars that decorate the other side would then be the wings. The mid-sixth century or later has been suggested as a date for this type of vase.<sup>26</sup>

*An amphora close to the Running Man Painter* (no. 35a-d)

The upper shoulder of no. 35 is decorated with a continuous bud chain (no. 35a). The partially preserved decoration on the three other non-joining body fragments of the same amphora consists of the hind leg of an animal facing right (no. 35b), a seven-dot rosette (no. 35c), and a volute with a partially preserved lozenge (no. 35d). The animal on no. 35b may have a long tail that seems to touch its hind leg; it may well represent a dog or a lion, that are both usually depicted with long tails.<sup>27</sup> The volute and the solid lozenge may be paralleled with handle ornaments in other Fikellura examples. This ornamentation is common on amphorai by the Running Man Painter (Cook's Group L),<sup>28</sup> as well as on vases painted by the Altenburg Painter and by the

<sup>23</sup> Cook 1933/34: 1-98; *idem* 1954: 1-3; pls. 568-81; Schaus 1986: 251-95.

<sup>24</sup> Cook 1933/34: 39-42, S1-12.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*: 10-1, E1-7.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*: 41-42.

<sup>27</sup> See for example Cook 1954: pl. 1, no. 1; pl. 3, nos. 1-2; pl. 7, no. 2.

<sup>28</sup> Cook 1933/34: 82, fig. 17.

Painter of Running Satyrs.<sup>29</sup> The decoration on the body fragments (no. 35b-d) shows that the animal figure and the volute ornamentation are depicted on a broad area that is not restricted with other bands, i.e., the body of the vase is not divided into zones but left free. This type of decoration without banded limitations on the body of the vessel may be paralleled as well with the amphorai by the Running Man Painter.<sup>30</sup> It appears that the bud chain motif, or any other floral chains on the amphorai by the Running Man Painter, are generally placed on top of the shoulder as on no. 35a. Cook suggested that this group of vases probably came from the same workshop, and dated the group to approximately the last third of the sixth century.<sup>31</sup>

*Amphoriskoi* (nos. 36-8)

Crescents are placed on nos. 36 and 38. No. 36 has a group of four dot rosettes. We may expect dot reticulation immediately below the dot rosettes, since similar decoration with crescents as secondary bands and dot reticulation with rosettes of four dots as filling was frequently used on amphoriskoi.<sup>32</sup> Dot reticulation supplemented with four dot rosettes also appears on amphorai.<sup>33</sup>

The figure facing right on no. 37 is nude, and the silhouette-painted detail projecting over the rump seems to be a tail, suggesting that the figure is a satyr. The details on the right leg are rendered by incision. The incised details are a long, slightly curved line rising from the upper leg that starts over the knee and ends below the belly, and a short vertical line on the thigh. The genital area cannot easily be seen since that area is worn. In front of this figure there seems to be another right-facing satyr (?) whose rump and tail are partially preserved.

<sup>29</sup> Schaus 1986: 268, fig. 6 (Altenburg Painter); 281, fig. 11 (Painter of the Running Satyrs).

<sup>30</sup> For comparable amphorai by the Running Man Painter see Cook 1933/34: 20-2, divisions I and II; *idem* 1954: pl. 5, nos. 3-4; pl. 7, 2; pl. 14, no. 8; Walter-Karydi 1973: Taf. 69, no. 543; Cook & Dupont 1998: 83-5, figs. 10.6-7. There are some other Fikellura examples that use free field decoration (see Cook & Dupont 1998: 81-5, groups R, M and O). The preference for floral chains on the shoulder, and for handle volutes is, however, more reminiscent of Group L (Running Man Painter).

<sup>31</sup> Cook 1933/34: 23-4; Cook & Dupont 1998: 89.

<sup>32</sup> Cook 1933/34: Y22a, Y24.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.* Q2; Cook 1954: pl. 578, no. 4.

The Fikellura style is limited by the use of reservation for inner detail on the silhouette figures. Incision was known in Fikellura ware, but it was used very sparingly. The use of incision on figures, especially the ones from the mythological world, is observed only on a couple of examples. Three examples are informative. One of them is a stamnos from Histria<sup>34</sup> and a second is a fragmentary cup from Samos.<sup>35</sup> Both of them were painted by the Painter of the Running Satyrs and bear details in incision on a satyr and a maenad, and on demons respectively. Details of komasts are incised on the shoulder fragment of an amphora from Histria.<sup>36</sup> The examples closest to no. 37 are the satyr and the maenad on the stamnos from Histria by the Painter of the Running Satyrs.<sup>37</sup> The continuous incised line on the upper right leg and the vertical short line on the thigh, and the preference for mythological scenes are features common to the stamnos from Histria and to no. 37. No. 37 has not preserved any additional evidence which might ensure the attribution to an artist. However, if we accept the very sparing use of incision in the Fikellura style, significantly on the satyrs, one tends to believe that the painter of no. 37 might have worked closely with the workshop of the Painter of the Running Satyrs, or could have individually experimented with incision without being influenced by other Fikellura workshops. The Altenburg Painter and most other Fikellura ware, on the other hand, are severely limited by the use of reservation for inner detail on the silhouette figures.<sup>38</sup> The stamnos by the Painter of the Running Satyrs from Histria is dated to the second half of the sixth century.<sup>39</sup> The career of the Painter of the Running Satyrs is dated to c. 530-500.<sup>40</sup>

The dating of Fikellura amphoriskoi seems not to be based on secure evidence. The two amphoriskoi done by the Painter of the Running Satyrs must come from the end of the sixth century.<sup>41</sup> Some of the amphoriskoi classified by Cook (Y16) with a secure context date to approximately 520-10. Most of

<sup>34</sup> Dimitriu & Coja 1958: fig. 5; Walter-Karydi 1973: pls. 83, 88, no. 640; Alexandrescu 1978: pl. 19, no. 175; Schaus 1986: no. 63.

<sup>35</sup> Cook 1933/34: X1; Walter-Karydi 1973: 22, pl. 40, no. 335; Schaus 1986: no. 64.

<sup>36</sup> Cook 1954: 2, K11; Alexandrescu 1978: pl. 18, no. 166.

<sup>37</sup> See note 34.

<sup>38</sup> Schaus 1986: 253-270. Incision is seen on one example by the Altenburg Painter (*ibid.*: no. 21, note 6 on page 252), but it is far from being comparable to no. 37 from Daskyleion.

<sup>39</sup> Schaus 1986: 288.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*: 282.

the amphoriskoi with reticulation (Y. group 3) were dated to the last third of the sixth century by the same scholar.

#### *Miscellaneous* (nos. 32-4, 39)

This class involves fragments which cannot be adequately identified due to their insufficient state of preservation. Nos. 32-3 are shoulder fragments of amphorai/oinochoai decorated with bud chains. Both of them are restricted with broad, solid and vertical bands that indicate the beginning of the handle projection. Of these two floral shoulder decorations, one shows a more attentive drawing convention (no. 33) than the comparatively careless work on no. 32. No. 39 is from an open vessel fragment that has a dividing band and a worn decoration below, and no. 34 is from an amphora upper shoulder fragment decorated with a dividing band of short vertical lines and a cable pattern.

#### *Technical aspects*

The fabric of all examples (nos. 30-9) shows a homogenous clay structure. It tends to be micaceous and is moderately fired. Some of the fragments appear to be porous with tiny flecks of limestone. The clay color is between pink and reddish yellow.

Decoration is most often applied on a slipped surface. The slip tends to vary from a thinly applied yellowish-creamy color (nos. 30, 32, 34-6, 38-9) to thickly applied white (nos. 31, 37). The decoration on no. 33 is directly applied over the unslipped surface. Decoration is generally executed in brownish black. Additional color is occasionally applied: orange-red on one of the bars on no. 30 and red, alternating with spotted dark glaze, on the scales in no. 31.

The drawing conventions of outline and silhouette painting seen on the Fikellura examples from Daskyleion are reminiscent of the Middle Wild Goat style as observed on other Fikellura ware in general. Incision is used on only one example (no. 37) in order to detail the upper portion of the right leg of a satyr.

#### *Shapes*

*Amphorai* – The amphora is the most common shape in the Fikellura style. Only two fragmentary examples of this shape can be assigned with certainty (nos. 34-5). The shoulder fragment of no. 34 appears to be set off sharply from the neck, and is marked off by a plastic ridge. No. 35 has a broad flat shoulder



(no. 35a). The other three fragments of the same amphora show an animal figure (no. 35b), and the handle volute (no. 35d). For nos. 32-3 it is difficult to determine whether they belong to an amphora or to an oinochoe, but the shoulder decoration with a bud chain is more reminiscent of floral ornamentation on the amphora shoulder zone.

*Oinochoai* – Nos. 30-1 are fragmentary examples, but from their decoration they should be from Cook's 'Louvre Group' of oinochoai. The earliest Fikellura examples from Daskyleion are nos. 30-1, dated to the mid-sixth century.

*Amphoriskoi* – Only three fragments of amphoriskoi have been preserved; one is probably by the Painter of the Running Satyrs or from a closely-related workshop (no. 37). The other is of Cook's 'Reticulation subgroup' (no. 36). The third fragment is decorated with crescents and a row of vertical lines (no. 38). All three examples are body fragments, one from upper body (no. 36), and the other two from the mid- or lower body (nos. 37-8). No. 37 is one of the two examples that depict a figurative scene. The other example is on an amphora (no. 35).

*An Open Vessel* – Only one example of an open vessel is attested (no. 39) the shape of which is difficult to identify due to its insufficient state of preservation.

#### Decoration

*Primary Bands* – Although the examples presented here are not sufficient to identify the total decoration scheme of the vases, it is possible to make some suggestions. The satyr on no. 37 seems to be from a figural scene, and the leg of an animal on no. 35 points to an animal scene decorating a wide band that possibly includes a handle ornamentation of volutes. The bars running diagonally (no. 30) and the scaled pattern (no. 31) were probably the main decorations on the vases they belonged to, as represented in Cook's 'Louvre Group'.<sup>42</sup>

*Secondary Bands* – The secondary bands observed here consist of bud chains and crescent patterns. Bud chains decorate the shoulder zones of three closed vessels (nos. 32-3, 35). It seems to be one of the common shoulder decorations

<sup>42</sup> Cook 1933/34: 39-42.

in Fikellura closed vessels appearing after 540.<sup>43</sup> Finer versions of this floral ornament are observed on nos. 33 and 35. The bud chain is supplemented with four dot rosettes on the upper part of the shoulder of no. 33. A coarser version of the bud chain appears on no. 32, where the buds are made with clumsy brush strokes. Crescents, one of the most typical patterns of the Fikellura style, have been used on two amphoriskoi upper body fragments (nos. 36, 38).

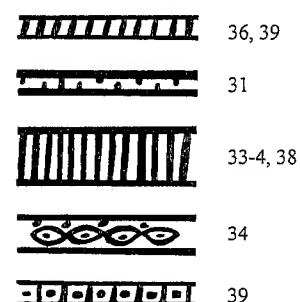
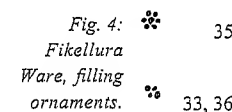


Fig. 3: Fikellura Ware, dividing bands.

*Dividing Bands* (fig. 3) – Five different types of dividing bands are identified: rows of vertical lines (nos. 33-4, 36, 38-9), dog-tooth (no. 31), cable (no. 34), dotted square bars (no. 39), and solid bands (nos. 32-3, 35). The majority of these patterns are placed at the top of shoulders of oinochoai and amphorai (nos. 31-5); the rest are on body fragments that divide two zones (nos. 36, 38-9). The patterns preferred in the dividing bands of Fikellura ware from Daskyleion are common patterns in Fikellura pottery in general.<sup>44</sup> Most of the patterns are reminiscent of the Wild Goat Style. The long vertical lines are preferred on the tops of the shoulders of oinochoai/amphorai (nos. 33-4), and on the body of an amphoriskos (no. 38). The dividing band with shorter vertical lines encircles the lower portion of an amphoriskos (no. 36) and the body of an open vessel (no. 39). A cable pattern with external and central dots is placed below the row of vertical lines on the shoulder fragment of an oinochoe (no. 34). Another dividing band pattern is a series of dotted square bands that is placed parallel to a dividing band of short vertical lines (no. 39). Solid bands were used to separate neck from shoulder (nos. 32-3, 35).

*Filling Ornaments* (fig. 4) – Only two types of filling ornaments are seen on the examples presented here: the four-dot rosette (nos. 33, 36) and the seven-dot rosette (no. 35). Both are common in Fikellura pottery.<sup>45</sup>



<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*: 74.

<sup>44</sup> See *ibid.*: figs. 10.1, 5, 6, 9 for solid band, ladder, dog-tooth and dotted square patterns that are placed in dividing bands. See also figs. 12.2, 7 for tongue pattern and fig. 11 for cable pattern.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*: figs. 9.2, 3; Walter-Karydi 1973: 65, Abb. 136.

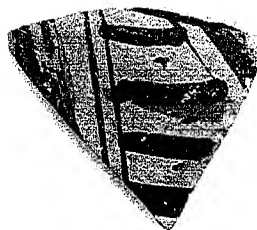
## Catalogue

## 30. Oinochoe.

Trench no. 3; AMD. Inv. no. 272.

Pres. L: 0.037; pres. W: 0.042; th: 0.004.

Clay: reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6). Slip pinkish white (7.5 YR 7/6). Decoration (7.5 YR 2/0) with additional reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/8): two diagonal lines framing short horizontal lines with dots in between.



## 31. Oinochoe. Shoulder fragment.

Trench F6; BDJ. Inv. no. 571.

H: 0.034; th: 0.005.

Clay: pink (5 YR 8/4). Glaze: very dark brown (10 YR 2/2). Ext., slipped (10 YR 8/2 very pale brown), one narrow band of dog-tooth pattern forming the upper border of the register. A scale pattern with alternating central very dark brown (10 YR 2/2) and yellowish red dots (5 YR 5/8).

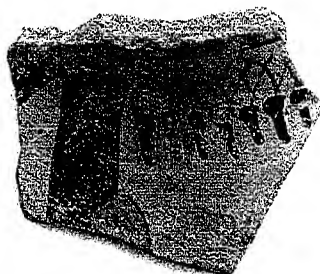


## 32. Oinochoe/amphora. Shoulder fragment.

Trench F6; BCO.

H: 0.045; th: 0.006.

Clay: reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6). Glaze: reddish brown (5 YR 4/4). Ext.: slipped (7.5 YR 8/4 pink), horizontal and vertical band on left framing bud chain.

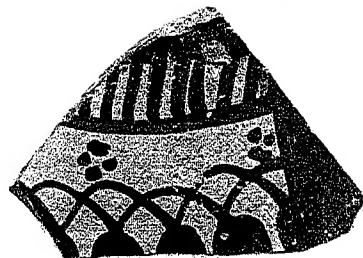


## 33. Oinochoe/amphora. Shoulder fragment.

Trench F6 East; CKC. Inv. no. 1064.

H: 0.042; th: 0.006.

Clay: reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6). Glaze: very dark gray (5 YR 3/1). Ext.: slipped (10 YR 8/3 very pale brown), single thin band forming the lower border of tongues; two filling ornaments (four-dot rosette); bud chain.



## 34. Amphora. Shoulder fragment.

Trench F6; DCD.

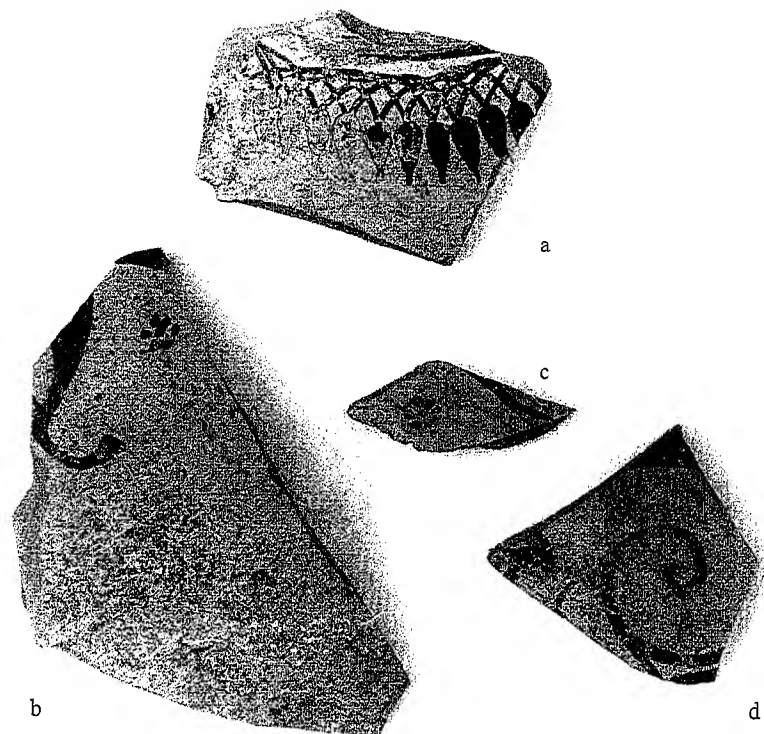
Pres. L: 0.036; pres. W: 0.02; th: 0.005.

Clay: reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6). Glaze: dark reddish brown to yellowish red (5 YR 3/3-4/6) over creamy-white slip. Ext., t. b.: single line framing the upper and lower borders of tongue pattern; cable pattern with central and external dots.



## 35. Amphora. Shoulder and belly fragments (four non-joining fragments).

Found in an irrigation channel on a field east of Hisartepé mound. a) Pres. L: 0.044; pres. W: 0.068; th: 0.006; b) pres. L: 0.102; pres. W: 0.063; th: 0.005; c) pres. L: 0.049; pres. W: 0.053; th: 0.004; d) pres. L: 0.017; pres. W: 0.043; th: 0.004.



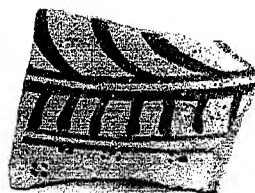
Clay: light brown (7.5 YR 6/4). Glaze: black to brown (7.5 YR 2.5/1-4/4) over creamy white slip. 1) Shoulder fragment, single band above, bud chain below. 2) Belly fragment, foot of an animal to right; seven-dot rosette. 3) Belly fragment, partially preserved volute? 4) Belly fragment, seven-dot rosette.

## 36. Amphoriskos. Lower body fragment.

Trench F 5; BMF.

Pres. L: 0.031; pres. W: 0.038; th: 0.007-0.008.

Clay: reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6). Slip: very pale brown (10 YR 8/4). Glaze: red (2.5 YR 4/8). Ext., t. b.: partially preserved reticulation with rosettes of four dots as filling; single line framing the upper and lower borders of tongue pattern; row of crescents.

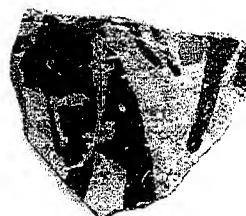


## 37. Amphoriskos. Body fragment.

Trench 3; ALO. Inv. no 276.

Pres. L: 0.033; pres. W: 0.036; th: 0.003

Clay: reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6). Glaze: very dark gray to very dark grayish brown (10 YR 3/1-3/2) over fine white slip. Ext., l. r.: lower portion of a satyr (?) facing r.; partially preserved rump and tail of a satyr?

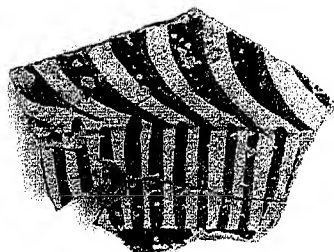


## 38. Amphoriskos. Body fragment.

Trench M8; FBA.

Pres. L: 0.028; pres. W: 0.049; th: 0.005

Clay: light brown (7.5 YR 6/4). Glaze: black (7.5 YR 2.5/1) over creamy white slip. Ext., t. b.: tongues; single line framing the upper border of crescents.

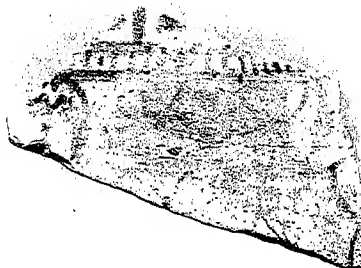


## 39. Open vessel. Body fragment.

Trench 21; DKC.

Pres. L: 0.038; pres. W: 0.056; th: 0.004.

Clay: reddish yellow (7.5 YR 6/6). Glaze: strong brown (7.5 YR 4/6) on the ext. dark brown (7.5 YR 3/2) on the int. Ext., t. b.: dotted square bars; single line forming the upper and lower borders of tongue pattern; partially preserved scale pattern at right.

*Conclusion*

It seems that the number of painted pottery imports from Asia Minor to Daskyleion declined, and was limited to certain classes and production centers in the Achaemenid period. Only Lydian ware (Streaky-glazed and Marbling wares and lydia) and Southern Ionian pottery (Fikellura Style) appear, and this implies that imported painted pottery from Sardis and Miletus continued in the second half of the sixth century. There is no further evidence at Daskyleion that suggests a continuity of imported painted pottery from Asia Minor in later Achaemenid times. Fikellura pottery probably arrived at Daskyleion as ordinary commercial goods via Miletus' colony, Cyzicus, as did the Middle Wild Goat Style II pottery that was also produced at Miletus. It is not surprising to find Lydian pottery at Daskyleion, since the city was controlled by the Lydian kingdom from about the last quarter of the seventh century to the mid-sixth century.<sup>46</sup> Relations with Lydia continued into the Achaemenid period.

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<sup>46</sup> Nicolas of Damascus, FGrH 90 F63; Masson 1962: 21ff., fig. 104; see also, Bakır 1995: 273; *idem* 1997: 234.

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## WHY PERSIA BECAME THE ENEMY OF MACEDON\*

Maria Brosius – Newcastle

When Philip II was set to lead a war against Persia it was, so Diodorus tells us, 'on behalf of the Greeks and to punish them for the profanation of the temples' (Diod. XVI.89.2; cf. Just. IX.4). With this claim Philip II referred to a 150-year old event: Xerxes' invasion of Greece in 480/79 and the destruction of the temples in Athens.<sup>1</sup> In addition to appropriating the by then distant event in the history of Greece for his own cause, Philip II also revived the slogan of the 'freedom of the Greeks of Asia,' ordering Attalus and Parmenion to go to Asia Minor in order to liberate the Greek cities (Diod. XVI.91.2; Polyæn. V.44.4). The revenge motive has been identified as a mere pretext, and dismissed as such by modern scholars (cf. Polyb. III.6.5; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993: 180).<sup>2</sup> Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg demonstrated that, while it was indeed a pretext for Philip II, Alexander III turned the revenge motive into a 'real' cause, and followed its aims through with deadly determination. With Alexander the revenge motive changed from being a mere pretext to a political symbol or weapon, first enacted in the destruction of Thebes, justified by her 'medising' during 480/79, and brought full circle with the burning of Persepolis in the spring of 330. But the latter also came to symbolise the limits of Alexander's power in Persia. As

\* It has been a sad task to write this contribution for a memorial volume for Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, to whom I owe much, both as a scholar and a friend. I first met Heleen in Groningen, at one of the Achaemenid History workshops she organised annually during the 1980s. Her approach to the subject, her energy and wonderful sense of humour inspired all who attended these workshops; they certainly left a deep impression on me. The present contribution has been inspired by her article on 'Alexander and Persepolis' (1993); I can only hope that she would have approved of the result, and that it perhaps might have evoked one of her great smiles.

<sup>1</sup> Which had been preceded by the destruction of the temple of Cybele in Sardis by the Greeks during the Ionian Revolt (Hdt. V.102.1).

<sup>2</sup> Hornblower 1991: 225 suggests that Philip might have got the idea of a religious war against Persia from the Third Sacred War in Greece (356/5-347/6).

Sancisi-Weerdenburg argued, not only did Alexander bring Macedonian propaganda to a catastrophic conclusion, but in doing so he destroyed the symbol of Achaemenid power, thus severing the ties between the king and the satraps, as well as between the king and the empire. The destruction of Persepolis marked Alexander as conqueror, not as king (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993: 185; see also Brosius 2003: 181-185).

That the revenge motive became a 'real' issue and the war-cry of Philip's successor Alexander III is clearly shown by the way Alexander exploited the symbolism connected with Xerxes' invasion. When he marched to the Hellespont, Alexander deliberately retraced the route Xerxes had taken via Abdera, Dicaea and Maronea (Hdt. VII.109.1; cf. Bosworth 1994: 798). In a subsequent symbolic act he demonstrated that he was champion of the Greeks against the Persians by sending 300 Persian panoplies to the temple of Athena after the battle at the Granicus with the comment that they were taken by "Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, except for Sparta, from the barbarians who live in Asia" (Arr. *Anab.* I.16.7; Plut. *Alex.* 16.18; cf. Hammond 1987: 605; Bosworth 1994: 800). With the burning of Persepolis Alexander had achieved the ultimate revenge for Xerxes' invasion. The fire was deliberately started in the palace of Xerxes. Furniture and other flammable materials were heaped up to build a fire that would burn fast and hot to cause maximum damage to the palace (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993:182). The revenge motive was so imbedded in the minds of the soldiers serving in Alexander's army that on arrival in Ecbatana later in 330 they were surprised to learn that they were not to return to Macedon just yet (Curt. VI.2.15-4.1; cf. Brosius 2003: 184).

But what were the reasons behind Philip's use of the revenge motive and the slogan of the 'freedom of the Greeks'? On the surface Philip's motive for declaring himself the champion of Greece against Persia appears to have served the purpose of finding a common political and military goal to unite Greece and Macedon under his leadership. Identifying a common enemy was to be the key to realising his ambition of uniting the Greek city-states behind him. As Gehrke states, Persia was the only enemy, as well as an ideal one.<sup>3</sup> But whose enemy was Persia? Which Greek city-state actually identified with this 'common cause,' or indeed with the liberation of the Greek cities in Asia Minor? Certainly, the main players in a 'war of revenge' would have been Sparta and Athens, but while Sparta was excluded from Philip's politics, Athens became a vehement opponent to them. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that Philip's slogans were aimed first and foremost at Athens, the main target of Xerxes' invasion, and the city in whose name Philip wanted to seek revenge.

<sup>3</sup> "Persien war nicht nur der einzige, sondern auch ein idealer Feind" (Gehrke 1996: 26).

If we accept that these slogans were mere pretexts, and if it is further agreed that Persia was not an enemy of Greece, then we need to address the problem: why *did* Philip declare a war against Persia? If these pretexts were aimed at Athens, then the answer must lie in Philip's relationship to her. What were the real reasons which Philip tried to hide from Athens regarding the war against Persia?<sup>4</sup> The question why Philip wanted to make war on Persia is rarely asked in modern scholarship, and answered only in vague terms, suggesting that the financial and military resources of the empire attracted Philip,<sup>5</sup> or even the mere opportunity to take over a weak and decadent empire.<sup>6</sup> The sources offer no precise reason either why Philip planned a war against Persia. As Sancisi-Weerdenburg observed, even the ancient authors regarded the revenge motive as unsatisfactory (cf. Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1993: 179). The explanations offered appear even more inadequate in light of the fact that throughout Philip's dealings with Greek cities he followed a calculated plan of political and military actions. His decision to identify Persia as the enemy of Greece and to *use* the revenge motive and the freedom-slogan to justify his planned campaign must mean that at some point he identified Persia as a potential threat to his own political plans. These, however, were occupied for most of his reign with his endeavours to gain hegemony over Greece and in particular to secure control over Athens. Therefore, if Persia was not the primary target of Philip's attack, what made him turn against the empire?

The revenge motive and appropriation of the slogan of the 'freedom of the Greeks' to incite the Greeks to war were pure fabrication when seen against the reality of mid-fourth century politics. A review of the sources reveals that no fundamental enmity existed either between Macedon and Persia, or between

<sup>4</sup> Knowingly or not, Philip must have had some supporters among the Athenians, whose conservative views were voiced by the aged Isocrates, but the view of the Athenian assembly which grew increasingly opposed to Philip's actions was decisive, finally declaring war on him in October 340.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Ellis 1994b: 784-785. In contrast, Bosworth 1988: 8 points out Philip's relative wealth of financial and human resources. Furthermore, he states that "we cannot date the origins of Philip's ambition against Persia. There is no literary evidence for them until the latter part of his reign" (Bosworth 1988: 18). Though Bosworth acknowledges that other reasons were behind Philip's war plans, none are offered.

<sup>6</sup> The argument of a weakened and declining empire, wrecked by succession struggles and revolts, on the brink of collapse and suffering from an alienation of the satraps from the king (cf. Bosworth 1988: 17), which presented an ideal opportunity for Philip to attack, can hardly be sustained. It fails to recognise that the organisation of the empire was still strong, military support for the king unfailing under Artaxerxes III and Darius III and the political limits of the revolts of the western satraps (cf. HEP: 789-833).

Persia and the Greeks, that could have provoked a war (cf. Hornblower 1994: 95). Instead, at a particular point in his relationship with Greece Philip 'created' the belief that such an enmity existed. In a blatant abuse of history, and in order to achieve this goal, Philip, and later Alexander, deliberately manipulated and indeed perverted historical facts, to the detriment of the Greek states, particularly of Thebes, and of the Persian empire.

First, let us look at Macedon's relationship with Persia. Herodotus tells us that in the course of Megabazus' mission to secure the Hellespont and Thrace for the Persian empire, Amyntas I, the king of Macedon, offered earth and water to the king, probably in 510 (Hdt. IV.49.1). His successor Alexander I (c.495-c.454), remained an ally of the Persians. Either Amyntas or Alexander confirmed their alliance with Persia by offering Amyntas' daughter Gygaia in marriage to the Persian Bubares (Hdt. IV.22.1), and, following the events in Ionia between 498 and 493, Alexander I reaffirmed his loyalty to Persia with Mardonius in 492 (Hdt. VI.44.1). When Xerxes succeeded to the Persian throne in 486, Alexander's own position was strengthened by gaining control over Upper Macedon (Just. VII.4.1; cf. Fol & Hammond 1988: 246). As a subject of Persia, Macedon paid tribute to the Persian king (Hdt. III.96.1; VII.108.2), perhaps in the form of precious metal (cf. Fol & Hammond 1988: 248). More important, it had to provide troops for the Persian king in the event of a military campaign or war. Thus, Macedonian infantry appear in the European contingent of Xerxes' army in 480 (Hdt. VII.185). This reveals the most paradoxical phenomenon in Macedon's history: Philip's claim to be champion of the Greek cause to avenge Athens and the destruction of her temples in 480/79. This claim is incompatible with the fact that in the same war the Macedonians had fought on the Persian side against Athens and her allies. While 150 years later Macedon had not forgotten Theban support for Persia, her own act of medism was conveniently omitted from memory (cf. Hornblower 1994: 93), a blatant denial of her own past role and an indisputable perversion of the historical facts.

Back in 480/79, Macedon's continued support for Persia came to light when Alexander I acted as mediator between Mardonius and the Athenians after the first occupation of the city (Hdt. VIII.136). Alexander conveyed the Persian peace terms to the Athenians, which included the return of their territory, self-government, and the rebuilding of the destroyed temples of Athens (Hdt. VIII.140.1-2). The peace agreement having been rejected, and Mardonius killed in the battle of Plataea, Persian forces withdrew from mainland Greece. Lack of detailed evidence makes it difficult to assess the impact that the Persian withdrawal from Greece had on Persian relationships with Macedon and Thrace. While Persian officials withdrew from most settlements in the region (Hdt. VII.106), Doriscus remained a Persian-controlled town with Mascames and his

sons acting as *hyparchoi* (Hdt. VII.105-106). The loss of Persian protection seems to have led to an economic decline (cf. Fol & Hammond 1988: 252), probably partly due to the loss of Upper Macedon, which was only recovered by Philip II (cf. Ellis 1994a: 725). After the Greco-Persian wars Macedon did not join the Delian League against Persia.

Since the make-up of Macedonian society, as well as Thracian society, was much more oriented towards the east than to Greece, the c.30 years of Persian domination will not have passed without influence in the political and cultural spheres for the Macedonian royal house and the Macedonian aristocracy. Minting had begun shortly after the arrival of the Persians, and the Persian mint standard was kept until Philip's reign (cf. Ellis 1994a: 737). Certain court structures and royal offices point to an organisation of the Macedonian court parallel to that of the Persian court. These include the recognition of the importance of the king's relationship with the local nobility, the establishment of the King's Friends and the institution of gift-giving,<sup>7</sup> political marriage alliances between members of the royal house and members of the nobility (cf. Carney 1993: 313-323), feasting (cf. Ellis 1994a: 729), hunting,<sup>8</sup> and court offices.<sup>9</sup>

Persian-Macedonian relations entered a new phase in the mid-fourth century. Philip II succeeded to the throne of Macedon in 360;<sup>10</sup> a year later, some time between November 359 and April 358, the Persian king Artaxerxes II died and was succeeded by Artaxerxes III (cf. Walker 1997: 22). While Philip had to focus on establishing control first in Macedon and then in Greece,

<sup>7</sup> See for example Philip II giving drinking cups and other gifts to those who wanted to be included amongst the Friends after Olynthus (Diod. XVI.55.1-2), or his distribution of gifts among his soldiers who fought against the Illyrians (Diod. XVI.3.3-4). Alexander continued this policy of gift-giving. He thus honoured the king of the Agriani, Langarus, because of his services to the king (Arr. *Anab.* 1.5.1). The gifts were said to have been 'of the highest value,' including the promise of a marriage alliance between Alexander's sister Cyna and Langarus. Alexander also honoured his doctor Philip the Acarnanian, who restored Alexander's health shortly before Issus. "Alexander honoured him with magnificent gifts and assigned him to the most loyal category of Friends" (Diod. XVII.31.6). Courageous soldiers were presented with gifts after the battle of Issus (Diod. XVII.40.1). Cf. Diod. XVII.81.2; XVII.83.7.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ellis 1994a: 729 on hunting as a formative exercise for Macedonian youths. For the adoption of the Persian royal hunt at the Macedonian court see Briant 1991: 211-255; Palagia 2000: 167-206.

<sup>9</sup> See, for example, the office of the royal cup-bearer to Alexander, Iolas (Plut. *Alex.* 74.1).

<sup>10</sup> For the date see Hatzopoulos 1982: 21-42.

Artaxerxes had to concentrate on quashing the revolt of Egypt, ongoing since 404, as well as the revolt of Artabazus (356-353), of Cyprus (c.346-344), and of the cities of Phoenicia led by king Tennes of Sidon (345/4).

During Philip's reign, his relationship with Greece, in particular with Athens, was marked by increasing distrust and aggression, beginning with Philip's occupation of Amphipolis in 357 and culminating in the battle at Chaeronea in 338. In 356 he besieged Potidaea (Diod. XVI.8.5; Plut. *Alex.* 3.8; cf. Ellis 1994a: 738), forcing Athens to react, albeit, too late. A year later Philip marched against Methone (Diod. XVI.31.6; cf. Ellis 1994a: 742), again, forcing the Athenians to send military aid, which again arrived too late. After the battle on the Crocus Field in 352, Philip marched towards Thermopylae; this time, Athens reacted in time and, together with Spartan and Achaean forces, prevented Philip's army from marching into Attica (Diod. XVI.37.3; 38.2). Yet again, when Philip attacked Olynthus, Athenian support was only half-hearted (cf. Philochorus FGrH 238 F49-51; Diod. XVI.52.9), and the military aid sent on a third attempt arrived once again too late, with the result that Athenian soldiers were taken prisoner (Tod 166; Harding 80; Dem. IX.26). It seems that the anti-Macedonian mood in Athens only now began to take on a more concrete form. For the first time Athenian orators discussed the possibility of a war against Philip (Aesch. II.57-60; Dem. XIX.16). At the same time Philip, having sensed that he would not be able to succeed in Greece as long as Athens could use her army and navy against him in coalition with other states, began negotiations with Athens (early 346) in which he was seemingly prepared to make political concessions to Athens to achieve peace. After repeated negotiations a peace seemed to have been agreed, but was quickly overturned in July 346 (Aesch. II.137).<sup>11</sup>

In 343/2 Corinth and her allies appealed to Athens to provide aid against Philip, and Demosthenes and Hegesippus secured alliances with Ambracia (Dem. IX.72). Furthermore, Athens formed internal alliances with Achaia, Arcadia, Argos, Messene and Megalopolis (Σ Aesch. ad III.83 [ed. Schultz]; IG II<sup>2</sup> 225). In the winter of 342/1 the activities of the Athenian general Diopeithes led to the capture of a Macedonian messenger, and early in 341 he led troops into Thrace. Another Macedonian negotiator was captured (cf. Ellis 1994b: 773-774). Finally, inspired by Demosthenes, Athens dispatched an embassy to Persia to negotiate the support of the king against Philip (Dem. X.31-34).

How did Greece's relationship with Persia develop between 360 and 340? In the 350s both Athens and Thebes still pursued anti-Persian politics. In 357

<sup>11</sup> According to Diod. XVI.60.5, the idea to attack Persia came up in the autumn of that year. In light of Philip's continued problems in Greece, this seems unlikely.

Mausolus of Caria supported Chios, Rhodes and Byzantium in their war against Athens (Diod. XVI.7); the Greek mercenaries put themselves under the command of Chares, who then proceeded to hire himself and his mercenaries to Artabazus, in a revolt against the king (Diod. XVI.22; Σ Dem. ad IV.19 [ed. Dilts]; Plut. *Arat.* 16.3). But Artaxerxes forced Athens to withdraw Chares, which she did without delay. Artabazus then found another supporting force in Thebes which sent Pammenes and 5,000 mercenaries to aid his revolt in 354/3 (Diod. XVI.34.1). Their relationship was short-lived, and Pammenes was killed after a dispute with Artabazus. His revolt was quashed, and Artaxerxes III shrewdly re-employed the Theban mercenaries into his own services. By 351 Thebes actually asked the Persian king for financial aid for the Sacred War against Phocis (Diod. XVI.40.1-2). Artaxerxes responded by making 300 talents of silver available to Thebes. The Athenian attitude towards Persia was still ambiguous in the mid-340s. While Athens claimed that her friendship with Persia was dependent on the king's attitude towards Hellenic cities (Anaximenes FGrH 72 F28), she supported the Persian cause during the revolt of Cyprus in 346-344 when the Athenian Phocion and Idreus of Caria were entrusted by the king to suppress the revolt (Diod. XVI.42.6-9; Strabo XIV.656). In 343/2 Thebes returned the favour to Artaxerxes, sending 1,000 hoplites under the command of Lacrates to the king. Likewise, the Argives sent 3,000 hoplites under the command of Nicostratus; and the Greeks at the coast of Asia Minor joined the venture with 6,000 soldiers (Diod. XVI.44.4.). These forces were used in Artaxerxes' third attempt to reconquer Egypt.

The Greek city-states were slow to react to Philip's aggression in the 350s, and were equally slow to form alliances against him. The mutual distrust among the Greek cities and their preoccupation with the Social War (357-355) and the Third Sacred War (356/5-347/6), were in part the cause for this. Eventually Thebes' request for aid from Artaxerxes III brought Persia back into the Greek vision as a potential ally and supporter, whose unlimited resources could be used against Philip II. After 343, in light of the growing threat coming from Philip and Macedon, Athens followed suit. Once Athens had decided to react to Philip's aggression she gathered Greek allies and finally sought Persian support. From that moment onwards she posed a considerable threat to Philip.

In the summer of 340 Philip attacked Perinthus (Diod. XVI.74), possibly with a view occupying the Bosphorus to gain control over Athens' food supply from the Black Sea. The request of the Athenian embassy for Persian aid was granted: Artaxerxes III ordered the Persian satraps of Asia Minor to send mercenary troops and supplies; the Macedonians were forced to withdraw from Perinthus but moved in response to attack Byzantium. In the autumn of 340 Philip seized 230 grain ships at the Bosphorus (Philochorus FGrH 238 F54.162; Dem. XVIII.73, 139). Byzantium received support from Athens, as well as from



Chios, Rhodes, Cos and Persia, and finally Athens declared war on Philip in October 340, sure of Persian money to finance the war. The attack on Byzantium had to be abandoned.<sup>12</sup> It is after this event that Philip declared war on Athens, accusing her of breaching the peace and even instigating Persia to declare war on Macedon (Dem. XII.6). By 340 the political balance had shifted strongly against Philip. Not only had Greek states recognised the threat posed by Philip, but had begun to form coalitions against him. Athenian opposition to Philip had grown to such an extent that an Athenian-Persian alliance had become possible. What had been anathema in the 350s and early 340s had now become a political reality. Such a coalition would mean the end of Macedonian ambitions of supremacy over Greece. [Demosthenes] made the point ([Dem.] XI.5-6):

"... quite recently the satraps of Asia Minor sent a force of mercenaries and compelled Philip to raise the siege of Perinthus. But today their hostility is confirmed, the danger, if he reduces Byzantium, is at their very doors, and not only will they eagerly join the war against him, but they will prompt the king of Persia to become our paymaster; and he is richer than all the rest together, and his power to interfere with Greece is such that in our former wars with Sparta, whichever side he joined, he ensured their victory and so, if he sides with us now, he will easily crush the power of Philip."

Indeed, this statement encapsulates Philip's real political concern. Between 343 and 340 Greek resistance to Macedon had grown continuously, culminating in Persian support for Athens. There could be no doubt as to Persia's strength: the Persian empire had emerged victorious from the revolts of Artabazus and of Cyprus and Sidon. Most of all, Artaxerxes III had reconquered Egypt after 61 years of independence. To Greece and Macedon Persia's military and financial power must have looked as solid as ever. The western satraps had proved their ability to fight against Philip at the Hellespont. The tactics which had been employed to force the surrender of Athens in 405/4, the blockade of the grain ships at the Hellespont (Xen. *Hell.* II.1.17), were tried again by Philip in 340. This time, as a result of the Persian intervention at Perinthus and Byzantium, they failed to force Athens to surrender.

Philip, who must have observed Persia's potential interference in Greek politics when Artaxerxes III got involved in the Third Sacred War, encountered

<sup>12</sup> Demosthenes is said to have received large sums from Persia to check the Macedonians (Diod. XVII.4.8).

a serious political threat to his ambitions in Greece after 343/2, when Persian-Greek alliances were concluded involving Thebes, Argos and Athens. While in the mid-340s Athens' attitude towards Persia had still been ambiguous, by 342/1 Athens was ready to form alliances with other Greek states against Philip, with Persia emerging as a decisive supporter. Athenian opposition to Philip became manifest in 342/1 with Diopeithes' activities in Thrace. By 340, with Persian aid behind her, Athens confidently declared war on Philip. Philip must have been well aware that as a result of such an alliance, Athens would have access to substantial financial and military support. History had shown that whatever side Persia and Persian money was on would win the war. Unless Philip kept Persia out of Greek affairs, he would not become hegemon of Greece.

Philip's next military steps therefore must have been twofold: (a) to subject Athens and end Greek resistance, and (b) to attack those Persian forces which had – and potentially still could – support Athens against him, i.e. the satrapies of Asia Minor. In fact, the satrapies of Asia Minor most likely were the primary target of his Persian war (cf. Ellis 1994b: 789). But it was impossible to declare his motives for the Persian war openly, since it would have meant that he would have had to reveal his ambitions to make himself hegemon of Greece. Thus, in order to prevent the development of the Persian-Athenian alliance, Philip 'created' the enmity with Persia. The revenge motive and the revival of the slogan of the 'freedom of the Greeks of Asia' cloaked his real intentions perfectly.

The Athenians were attacked first: the battle at Chaeronea of 338 was the culmination of the aggression between Greek states and Macedon; Philip was victorious in battle; the subjected members of the 'Common Peace' took an immediate decision to declare war on Persia. Now the second step could be taken: the attack on the satrapies of Asia Minor. In 337 Philip's anti-Persian propaganda began in earnest, and he called for a war of revenge (cf. Diod. XVI.91.2) and the liberation of the Greeks of Asia.

At about the same time as the battle of Chaeronea took place, Artaxerxes III had died. Not, as Greek sources would have us believe, killed by the hand of Bagoas, but of natural causes. A Babylonian document (BM 71537) states that in the month Ulul (August/September) 'Umakuš (went to his) fate; his son Aršu sat on the throne' (Walker 1997: 22). Aršu, or Arsēs, took the throne name Artaxerxes IV (cf. SEG 27 942). But Philip's plans were not connected with Artaxerxes III, they were connected with the interference of the satraps of Asia Minor in Greek affairs. Also, Philip had no reason to assume that the new king would not lend his support to the military activities of his western satraps. Thus, Philip's war plans remained unaltered and were realised in 337/6 when Philip sent a force under Attalus and Parmenion into Asia Minor. Further developments were curtailed following Philip's murder in 336, as the

Greeks took advantage of his death to renew their resistance to Macedonian control. Diodorus recalls that at the news of Philip's death many Greeks wanted to free themselves from Macedonian supremacy (Diod. XVII.3.1-5). Thebes which had been discontent at having a Macedonian garrison stationed on the Cadmeia, wanted to revolt against the new king, Alexander, and began by killing the two Macedonians who held the Cadmeia (Arr. *Anab.* 1.7; Diod. XVII.8-14) in 335/4. Alexander's wrath for Theban obstinacy was overpowering: the city was razed to the ground, 6,000 Thebans were remorselessly killed, and 30,000 were enslaved (Diod. XVII.14.1). These actions were justified by the claim that the Thebans had allied with the Persians in the Greco-Persian Wars. (Diod. XVII.14.2). After the destruction of Thebes, Alexander demanded the elimination of ten other Greek politicians who opposed his and his father's policy. Among the men to be punished was Charidemus who fled to the court of Darius III (Arr. *Anab.* 1.11), who had by now succeeded Artaxerxes IV.

Greek resistance towards Alexander continued: before the battle at Issus Alexander learned that Chios, Lesbos and Mitylene had joined forces with Memnon who planned to carry the war into Macedon with 300 ships and land forces, with many Greeks ready to revolt (Diod. XVII.31.3-4). In 332 king Agis of Sparta gathered the 8,000 mercenaries who had survived Issus, wanting to change matters in Greece with the aid of Darius III, who provided him with ships and money to gather forces on Crete (Diod. XVII.48). Still as late as 331/0 the Greeks hoped to get the support of Darius III for their fight against Alexander (Diod. XVII.62.1-3).<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> The Greeks who served in the Macedonian army, as well as the Greek mercenaries who had served in the Persian army, were treated with equal distrust by Alexander. Thus, when he dismissed the Greek fleet, he detained 20 Athenian ships in order to maintain control over Athens' potential to mobilise forces against him (Diod. XVII.22.5). As for the Greek mercenaries, those who had been captured after the battle at the Granicus were put in chains and returned to Macedon as forced labourers (Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.6). Others were detained after their capture and Athens' request for their release denied (Arr. *Anab.* 1.29.5-6). Fear of revolt by the satraps and Greek mercenaries also erupted when Greek mercenaries were recruited by the satraps, thus forming their own armies, but were ordered by Alexander to disband. The mercenaries however re-united under the leadership of Leosthenes who deeply resented Alexander's actions (Diod. XVII.111.3), and who then began to organise a resistance against Alexander with Athenian and Aetolian support (Diod. XVII.111.3).

### Conclusion

Philip's motivation to begin a war against Persia had not arisen from any direct animosity towards the empire, the promise of its vast riches, nor from an opportunity to attack a weakened empire. The reason why ancient writers struggled with the pretext of 'revenge' was that they viewed it in connection with Alexander, who had turned Philip's pretext into a 'real' reason. As we have seen, Philip's Persian war had nothing to do with revenge for Xerxes' invasion, or with the 'liberation of the Greeks of Asia.' As for the Greeks, they were forced by Philip to agree to a war against an enemy who had only just been identified by them as an ally.

The pretext for war was borne out of Philip's realisation that he could not conclude an alliance with Athens in a peaceful way and that the growing resentment of the Greek city-states towards Macedonian control was leading to Greek alliances to wage war against him. Philip could not maintain control over Greece except by force; after 343 the possibility of a Greek-Persian alliance threatened his plans. By 340 his fears had been realised and military action was needed to prevent this alliance from developing further. The satrapal forces of Asia Minor had become a threat to his power in Greece. The reason why Philip wanted a Persian war was to keep Persia out of Greek politics. The enmity towards Persia was created because of Persian involvement in Greek affairs. Philip's real enemy was Greece.

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# MECHANISMEN DER KONFLIKTBEWÄLTIGUNG IN DER VERWALTUNGSORGANISATION KLEINASIENS ZUR ACHÄMENIDENZEIT

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Im Hinblick auf die Verwaltungsorganisation im Achämenidenreich hat Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg im Schlußwort zu einem der von ihr organisierten Achaemenid History Workshops geschrieben: "A more sophisticated model of the complexities of an empire would be helpful to a better understanding of the way in which life in the whole of the empire was interrelated with the government and its administration."<sup>1</sup> Darüber, wie dieses Modell auszusehen habe, haben wir noch bei unserer letzten persönlichen Begegnung 1997 in Bandırma gesprochen. Daran anknüpfend möchte ich die Diskussion hier wieder aufgreifen, um das Verständnis einer Epoche zu fördern, der Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg einen Großteil ihres Lebenswerks gewidmet hat.

## Zur hierarchischen Struktur der Reichsverwaltung

Schon 1883 schrieb P. Krumbholz, daß der zwangsläufig vorauszusetzende Wandel der Satrapienordnung von jener Form, die uns Herodot überliefert, zu derjenigen, die Überlieferung zu späterer Zeit erkennbar macht, auf das Bild beständig fluktuierender Grenzen hinausläuft.<sup>2</sup>

Wie eine Gesetzmäßigkeit formulierte A. Foucher, daß physikalische Grenzen im Gegensatz zu historischen unbeweglich seien.<sup>3</sup> Dies trifft zwar grundsätzlich zu, andererseits ist aus der Gegenüberstellung für historische Grenzziehungen gewiß nicht die Regel abzuleiten, daß sie beständig im Fluß seien.

Speziell auf Kleinasien gemünzt versicherte M.N. Weiskopf: "Instead, Persian administration in this complex border region was marked by flexibility,

<sup>1</sup> Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1990: 273.

<sup>2</sup> Krumbholz 1883: 7.

<sup>3</sup> Foucher 1938: 337.

diversity, and, above all, continuity, ...",<sup>4</sup> eine Formel, deren innere Widersprüchlichkeit unübersehbar ist.

Und jüngst schrieb P. Debord: "En premier lieu, il serait illusoire de considérer l'Empire perse comme une ensemble immobile ..."<sup>5</sup>

Die zitierten Beispiele stehen für eine weit verbreitete Ansicht, die ihren Vertretern allerdings kaum gestattet, die Administration im Achämenidenreich als ein System zu begreifen.

Insbesondere P. Debord vermittelt mit seiner Wortwahl das Gefühl, als seien Spontaneität und Improvisationsvermögen und nicht Funktionsfähigkeit und Stabilität die in einer Verwaltungsordnung gesuchten Qualitäten. Letztlich aber präsentiert er mit diesem Satz nur eine aus der Not geborene Prämisse, die ihm gestatten soll, an der *voμoi*-Liste des Herodot, *Historien* III.90-94, als zentraler Quelle festzuhalten, auch wenn sie zur gesamten restlichen Überlieferung in flagrantem Widerspruch steht.<sup>6</sup> Vor dem Hintergrund dieser Quelle in ihrer Realitätsferne nimmt sich in der Tat jedwede andere Notiz als Zeugnis für eine Veränderung aus.<sup>7</sup>

Der Verf. hat vor einigen Jahren ein entwickelteres Modell der Reichsverwaltung zur Diskussion gestellt.<sup>8</sup> Die entscheidenden methodischen Schritte zu dem vorgelegten Entwurf waren folgende:

1. Die Rekonstruktion der Satrapienordnung geschah unter völliger Ausblendung der bei Herodot, *Historien* III.90-94, gegebenen Liste und auch der in III.89 vorausgehenden Angaben zur Gesamtzahl der Satrapien, zur Art ihrer Zusammensetzung und – denn dies allein weiterhin als historisches Faktum zu werten, wäre methodisch unvertretbar – zur Identität ihres geistigen Vaters.<sup>9</sup> Daraus folgt, daß von der Annahme einer 'Verwaltungsreform' des Dareios I. abzusehen ist, denn für sie gibt es keinen von Herodot unabhängigen Beleg.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Weiskopf 1982: 69.

<sup>5</sup> Debord 1999: 23; vgl. *ibid.* 25, 81, 116.

<sup>6</sup> Siehe die Rezension von Jacobs 2002.

<sup>7</sup> Gegen die Verwendbarkeit des Passus haben Altheim 1947/48: 140-145; Armayor 1978: 1-9; Gignoux 1979: 137-139, ausführlich argumentiert. Siehe den wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Überblick bei Jacobs 1994: 9-29.

<sup>8</sup> Jacobs 1994; Rezension Rollinger 1998: 341-344.

<sup>9</sup> Jacobs 1994: 93-96.

<sup>10</sup> Vgl. Petit 1990: 103-104. Die späten Zeugnisse des Polyaen VII.11.3 und im *Chronicon Paschale* sind natürlich nicht als unabhängige Quellen zu werten.

2. Den altpersischen Inschriften wurde der Zeugniswert zugebilligt, der ihnen in ihrer Eigenschaft als Primärquellen zukommt.<sup>11</sup>

3. Es wird vorausgesetzt, daß die Strukturen der im Achämenidenreich aufgegangenen altorientalischen Vorgängerreiche mit ihren Provinzen und Unterprovinzen aus organisatorischen und personellen Gründen weitgehend beibehalten wurden und den hierarchischen Aufbau der achämenidischen Verwaltungsorganisation prägten.<sup>12</sup>

4. Der in den einzelnen ehemaligen Reichskomplexen erkennbare hierarchische Aufbau wurde über den 'Stellenplan' gelegt, den uns die Quellen zur Eroberung des Achämenidenreichs durch Alexander den Großen liefern. Dabei dokumentiert die Tatsache, daß die einstigen Provinzen der altorientalischen Reiche, etwa Armeniens, das einst Teil des Medischen Reiches war, Assyriens, das einst zum Babylonischen Reich gehörte, oder Libyens, das einst Teil des Ägyptischen Reiches war, als Satrapien bis zum Ende der Achämenidenzeit fortbestanden, die Kontinuität der politisch-geographischen Gegebenheiten. Umgekehrt dokumentiert die Sonderrolle, die die alten Reichshauptstädte – Sardeis, Babylon, Memphis, Ekbatana, etc. – noch am Ende der Achämenidenzeit spielten, auch die Fortexistenz der hierarchischen Strukturen bis in diese Spätzeit hinein.<sup>13</sup>

Aus all dem ergibt sich im Gegensatz zur landläufigen Auffassung das Bild eines funktionstüchtigen, stabilen und durch die gesamte Achämenidenzeit hindurch weitgehend unveränderten Systems, einer Verwaltungsordnung im eigentlichen Wortsinn.

Die Annahme klar geregelter Kompetenzen ist eigentlich selbstverständlich, weisen doch z.B. auch die Verwaltungsurkunden aus Persepolis ganz eindeutig eine Hierarchie der dort tätigen Beamten aus.<sup>14</sup> Dies wurde jedoch bislang kaum berücksichtigt; man ist der Frage, wie Tissaphernes und Pharnabazos, Autophradates und Maussollos oder Autophradates und Datames rangmäßig zueinander standen, nicht ernsthaft nachgegangen. Die Folge ist, daß ein wirres Nebeneinander gleichrangiger Kompetenzen rekonstruiert und jede Situation, in der eine überragende Befehlsgewalt ohne jeden Zweifel auszumachen ist wie etwa im Falle des Prinzen Kyros, als Ausnahme gewertet wurde, obwohl

<sup>11</sup> Jacobs 1994: 98-113. Die Überbewertung des Herodot gegenüber den altpersischen Primärquellen brandmarkte insbesondere Gignoux 1979: 138-139 als methodischen Fehler.

<sup>12</sup> Jacobs 1994: 102-109.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* 97-112, 119-121, 147-148, 163-164, 179

<sup>14</sup> Hinz 1970: 424-425; *idem* 1971: 260-311; Koch 1983: 36-38, 45-46, 48-50.

die Quellen hierzu keinerlei Anlaß geben.<sup>15</sup> Daß Satrapen und Dynasten höheren Amtsträgern untergeordnet waren, ist vielfach und gut belegt. So zeigt sich beispielsweise bei den Auseinandersetzungen der Perser mit dem Spartaner Derkyllidas, bei denen für die persische Seite Tissaphernes und Pharnabazos als Hauptverantwortliche in Erscheinung traten, daß bei anstehenden Entscheidungen stets Tissaphernes das letzte Wort hatte: So drängte zwar Pharnabazos in Anbetracht der guten Ausgangsposition vor Magnesia zur Schlacht, doch als Tissaphernes für Verhandlungen mit den Griechen eintrat, mußte sich Pharnabazos beugen.<sup>16</sup> Entsprechendes läßt sich beobachten, als Tissaphernes bei den nur wenig späteren Auseinandersetzungen mit Agesilaos abermals "den Oberbefehl (*imperium*) unter den königlichen Präfecten" innehat.<sup>17</sup>

Beamtenlaufbahnen wie die des Mazaïos<sup>18</sup> oder – in nachachämenidischer Zeit – des Sibyrtios<sup>19</sup> lassen einzelne Sprossen einer Karriereleiter sichtbar werden und machen es möglich, die einzelnen Posten, die jene Männer bezogen, im hierarchischen Ämtergefüge zu lokalisieren.

#### *Der Aufbau der Großsatrapie Sparda/Lydien*

Kleinasien fiel zur Achämenidenzeit weitgehend mit der Großsatrapie Sparda/Lydien zusammen. Der hierarchische Aufbau dieses Großkomplexes läßt sich folgendermaßen rekonstruieren: Der Verwalter des zentralen Sprengels um Sardeis war zugleich Hauptsatrap von Lydien unter Einschluß der Kleinsatrapien Phrygien am Hellespont, Großphrygien und Karien. Zugleich Großsatrap hatte er nicht nur in der Hauptsatrapie Lydien, sondern auch in der Hauptsatrapie Kappadokien das Sagen. Die Hauptsatrapie Kappadokien aber bestand aus den Kleinsatrapien Kappadokien am Meer, Kappadokien am Taurus, des öfteren auch Kilikien genannt,<sup>20</sup> und Paphlagonien.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>15</sup> Ein besonders abenteuerliches Beispiel für das mutmaßliche Improvisieren in der Verwaltungspraxis bietet Ruzicka 1985: 204-211, dessen Konstruktionen darauf hinauslaufen, daß die Verwaltung Kleinasien innerhalb von 8 Jahren dreimal hätte umstrukturiert werden müssen.

<sup>16</sup> Xen., *Hell.* III.2.14-18; vgl. Diod. XIV.39. Westlake 1981: 262-263.

<sup>17</sup> Nepos, *Ages.* 2.3; Jacobs 1994: 125.

<sup>18</sup> Jacobs 1994: 64-66, 153.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* 69-70, 81-84.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* 141.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* 118-146. Es bedarf eigentlich keines Hinweises darauf, daß die hier verwendete Terminologie auf Grund des Fehlens einer brauchbaren überlieferten Begrifflichkeit

Daß auch die lokalen Dynasten in jenes Verwaltungssystem integriert waren, bezeugen nicht zuletzt antike epigraphische Quellen. So wird die Tätigkeit des Maussollos beispielsweise in Inschriften aus Mylasa als Satrapentätigkeit bezeichnet: Ἀρταξέρξης βασιλεύοντος Μανυσσώ(λ)ου ἐξαίθραπεύοντος.<sup>22</sup> Und analog bezeugt eine Inschrift aus Tralleis Gleiches für Idrieus: βασιλεύοντος Ἀρταξέσσεω ἐξαστραπεύοντος Ἰδριέως.<sup>23</sup> Damit wird den Genannten ein Rang attestiert, wie ihn auch ein von Persien aus bestimmter Beamter hätte ausfüllen können.<sup>24</sup>

#### *Administration und politische Krisen*

Nachrichten über administrative Gegebenheiten und über das Handeln von Beamten erreichen uns vor allem in Verbindung mit Berichten über Krisensituationen, denn durch sie wurden die griechischen Beobachter vorrangig zu historischer Berichterstattung motiviert.

Die Strukturen der Verwaltung waren denn auch gewiß nicht allein dazu da, Rahmenbedingungen für alltägliche Abläufe, etwa das Eintreiben von Steuern in Friedenszeiten, zu gewährleisten, sondern sie dienten auch und ganz wesentlich der Herrschaftssicherung, und zu dieser gehörte insbesondere die Fähigkeit, Krisen zu bewältigen. Gerade Vorgänge, die sich in Krisensituationen beobachten lassen, sollten durch das für den Aufbau der Administration entworfene Modell erklärbar sein. Insbesondere bei der Bewältigung von Konflikten, etwa der Niederschlagung von Rebellionen, mußte sich eine Regelmäßigkeit der Abläufe beobachten lassen. Dies würde nicht nur die Vorgänge selbst erklären helfen, sondern insbesondere die Richtigkeit der vorgeschlagenen Rekonstruktion des Systems bestätigen.

Konflikte innerhalb des Perserreichs gingen immer wieder und vorwiegend von den Inhabern der Statthalterämter aus, und zwar von Personen aller genannten Ränge. Dies gilt für die gesamte Achämenidenherrschaft von Kyros III. bis zu Dareios III. Nur wenige derartige Vorgänge sind allerdings durch

künstlich ist. Die Termini Groß-, Haupt- und Kleinsatrapie dienen dem Versuch, die antike Realität zu beschreiben.

<sup>22</sup> Le Bas & Waddington 1870: 377-9; Dittenberger 1915: 170; vgl. die Inschrift aus Sekköy in Milas Müzesi: [Ἐταί ... Ἀρτα]ξέρξης βασιλεύοντι[ο]ς, Μανυσσώλλ[ο]υ [ἐξαίθραπεύον]τος, ... (Blümel 1990: 30).

<sup>23</sup> Robert 1936: 143-144 Nr. 96; Hornblower 1982: 365 M4.

<sup>24</sup> Was Petit 1988: 314-315 hiergegen vorbringt, ist von seiner verfehlten Definition des Begriffs "Satrap" abhängig (*ibid.* 318-320) und nicht stichhaltig.

Primärquellen bezeugt. Deshalb sind die Ereignisse, die die Bīsutūn-Inschrift in Zusammenhang mit den reichsweiten Erhebungen zu Beginn der Regierungszeit des Dareios I. festhält, besonders aufschlußreich. Nicht alle damals ausgebrochenen Erhebungen konnte Dareios I., der sich vermutlich im wesentlichen auf die aus Ägypten zurückgeführte Streitmacht stützte, persönlich bekämpfen. So mußte auch er zur Bewältigung der Konflikte auf bereits vorhandene Strukturen zurückgreifen. Der Erfolg, der ihm schließlich beschieden war, spricht deutlich für die Existenz eines bereits bestehenden Systems und für dessen Tauglichkeit. Dies aber wird von denjenigen, die behaupten, erst Dareios I. habe der Verwaltung eine Struktur im eigentlichen Sinne gegeben, ausgesprochen oder unausgesprochen in Abrede gestellt.

So bediente sich Dareios vor Ort befindlicher Personen, beispielsweise seines Vaters Hystaspes, aber auch eben jener Männer, die die Inschrift mit dem Titel 'Satrap' bezeichnet. Der eine, Dādəršīš, Satrap von Baktrien, wurde gegen Frāda geschickt, der die Margiane in Aufruhr versetzt hatte, der andere, Vivāna, Satrap von Arachosien, sollte Tataguš, eine Provinz im Gebiet des heutigen Panğāb, befrieden. Dafür daß dieses Eingreifen nicht lediglich durch *ad hoc* getroffene strategische Überlegungen des Dareios veranlaßt war, sondern daß den Abläufen eine Regelmäßigkeit zugrundelag, sind der Bīsutūn-Inschrift deutliche Hinweise zu entnehmen. Nach der Niederwerfung der Rebellen in der Margiane resümiert Dareios die Ereignisse, rechnet sich aber die Taten seines Satrapen persönlich an. So lautet der abschließende Satz in der altpersischen Fassung: "Dies ist, was ich in Baktrien getan habe."<sup>25</sup> Dieser Satz ist nur so erklärbar, daß die Margiane zu Baktrien gehört hat.<sup>26</sup>

Ähnlich handelt Dareios die Taten seines Untergebenen Vivāna ab: Dieser hatte sich in drei Gefechten gegen die Rebellen aus Tataguš zur Wehr gesetzt. Die zweite dieser Schlachten spielte in einer Landschaft, deren Name nicht mit Sicherheit zu eruieren ist, deren genauere Lage im altpersischen Text gar nicht, vom elamischen mit 'Arachosien,' vom babylonischen aber mit <sup>KUR</sup>sa-at-ta-'ga'-ú, 'Sattagydien' angegeben wird. Den Erfolg seines Satrapen resümiert Dareios in der altpersischen und in der elamischen Fassung später mit den Worten: "Dies ist, was von mir in Arachosien getan worden ist."<sup>27</sup> Die babylonische Version aber sagt: "Dies ist, was ich in Sattagydien und Arachosien

<sup>25</sup> DBi III.19-21; Schmitt 1991: 63; vgl. Greenfield & Porten 1982: 10.

<sup>26</sup> Jacobs 1994: 213.

<sup>27</sup> DBi III.75-76; Schmitt 1991: 66.

getan habe."<sup>28</sup> Daraus ist – ganz analog zu den baktrischen Verhältnissen – nur der Schluß zu ziehen, daß Sattagydien zu Arachosien gehört hat.<sup>29</sup>

In beiden Fällen läßt sich also konstatieren, daß eine administrative Zuständigkeit bestand, die das Eingreifen der Satrapen regelte. Genau dieselbe Zuständigkeit ist im Falle Arachosiens noch zur Zeit Alexanders erkennbar. Nach der Eroberung ihres Gebietes nämlich trägt der Makedonenkönig den in Tataguš lebenden Mallern und Oxydrakern auf, ihren Tribut nach Arachosien zu entrichten.<sup>30</sup> Neben dem jeweiligen Kerngebiet Baktrien resp. Arachosien gab es also umfassendere Einheiten gleichen Namens, in denen derselbe Statthalter eine übergreifende Amtsbefugnis hatte.

### Konfliktformen

Im folgenden sollen Beispiele aus Kleinasien, insbesondere weil hier die Quellenlage besonders dicht ist, demonstrieren, daß Konfliktbewältigung in der in Baktrien und Arachosien zu beobachtenden Form Regelmäßigkeit besitzt und zu ganz unterschiedlichen Zeiten in immer gleichen Bahnen ablief. Diese Mechanismen entsprachen der Logik der durch die Verwaltungshierarchie vorgegebenen Strukturen.

Es lassen sich fünf verschiedene Arten von Konflikten ausmachen, die unter dem Aspekt der Funktionalität des Systems zu beobachten, sinnvoll ist:

Die zahlenmäßig größte Gruppe von Konflikten, von denen wir Kenntnis haben, entfällt auf Rebellionen, d.h. auf Versuche der örtlichen Machthaber, ihre Provinz in die Unabhängigkeit zu führen oder zumindest Autonomieregelungen zu erwirken.<sup>31</sup> Erheblich seltener sind Umsturzversuche, die darüber hinaus auf das Amt des Königs der Könige selbst zielten. Bisweilen resultierte Uneinigkeit daraus, daß die Politik eines Satrapen vom Hofe nicht gebilligt wurde und der König die Absetzung des Statthalters betrieb. Außerdem gab es Konflikte zwischen einzelnen Satrapen. Zwar waren unter diesen die Kompetenzen grundsätzlich geregelt, doch bestand bei unterschiedlicher politischer Auffassung

<sup>28</sup> DBbab §38; Voigtlander 1978: 59; Malbran-Labat: 1994: 118; vgl. Greenfield & Porten 1982: 13; ferner: Schmitt 1980: 113-114, Anm. 25-26.

<sup>29</sup> Jacobs 1994: 230-231. Daß sich Vogelsang 1992: 126-130 zu dieser naheliegenden Interpretation nicht verstehen kann, liegt an einer aus den nämlichen Paragraphen der Bīsutūn-Inschrift abgeleiteten sehr vagen Interpretation des Verhältnisses von "Ländern" und "Satrapien" zueinander (*ibid.* 129).

<sup>30</sup> Curt. IX.7.14; Vogelsang 1985: 78.

<sup>31</sup> Zu Autonomieregelungen vgl. Jacobs 1999: 41-55.

stets die Möglichkeit, die Differenzen zu einer Frage der Loyalität hochzuspielen. Schließlich ist der Konflikt zu nennen, der durch einen Angriff von außen ausgelöst wurde.

### *Mechanismen der Konfliktbewältigung*

Je niedriger man die Ebene der Verwaltungshierarchie wählt, desto spärlicher werden die Quellen. Dies gilt sogar für das südwestliche Kleinasien, das uns, obwohl von der Überlieferung vergleichsweise begünstigt, einen höchst problematischen Fall lokaler Konfliktbewältigung liefert. Für das vorliegende Thema ist zwar eigentlich nur die unbestrittene Tatsache von Bedeutung, daß es in Lykien Vorkommnisse gegeben haben muß, die zum Eingreifen karischer Autoritäten geführt haben. Gleichwohl soll aus aktuellem Anlaß die Gelegenheit genutzt werden, noch einmal zur Position Lykiens und Kariens innerhalb der Reichsadministration Stellung zu nehmen, um die Voraussetzungen, unter denen jenes Eingreifen zu sehen ist, darzustellen und Art und Umfang der ergriffenen Maßnahmen zu erläutern.

Ein besonders wichtiges Zeugnis in diesem Zusammenhang ist die Trilingue von Xanthos.<sup>32</sup> Sie bietet uns mit der aramäischen Inschrift einerseits und dem lykischen und dem griechischen Text, die einander relativ nahestehen, andererseits zwei voneinander weitgehend unabhängige Berichte über die Weihung eines Altares für den *König von Kaunos* (gr. βασιλεὺς Κάυνιος = lyk. *xñtawati xbidēñni* = aram. *kndwš kbydšy*), eine karische Gottheit, und für Arkesimas, einen womöglich gleichfalls karischen Gott, durch die Xanthier und ihre Umwohner (περίοικοι).

Der aramäische Text bietet eingangs eine Datierung in das 1. Regierungsjahr eines Artaxerxes.<sup>33</sup> E. Badian hat dargelegt, daß der genannte Artaxerxes nur jener Herrscher sein kann, den uns chronographische Quellen als Arsēs präsentieren. Der genannte Artaxerxes ist demnach der vierte seines Namens, und die erwähnte Datumsangabe liefert uns die Datierung des auf der Stele festgehaltenen Erlasses, das Jahr 337 v. Chr.<sup>34</sup>

Der zu diesem Zeitpunkt zuständige Verwaltungsbeamte war Pixodaros, der im aramäischen Text als Satrap von Karien und Lykien, in der griechischen und lykischen Version jeweils lediglich als Satrap von Lykien bezeichnet wird.

<sup>32</sup> Metzger, Laroche, Dupont-Sommer & Mayrhofer 1979.

<sup>33</sup> Dupont-Sommer 1979: 136-137; Kottsieper, 2001: 198; *idem* 2002: 233-234.

<sup>34</sup> Badian 1977: 40-50

Allein die lykische und die griechische Textversion berichten, daß Pixodaros nach Amtsantritt als Satrap von Lykien zwei Archonten über Lykien gestellt und in Xanthos einen Epimeletes eingesetzt habe.<sup>35</sup> ἐπεὶ Λυκίας ξαδράπης ἐγένετο Πιξόδαρος ἑκατόμνω ὅς, κατέστησε ἀρχοντας Λυκίας Ἱέρωνα καὶ Ἀπολλόδοτον καὶ Εἰάνθου ἐπιμελητὴν Ἀρτεμηλιν. – "Nachdem Pixodaros, der Sohn des Hekatomnos, Satrap von Lykien geworden war, setzte er Hieron und Apollodotos als Archonten Lykiens und Artemelis als Epimeletes von Xanthos ein."

Die Tatsache, daß Pixodaros, wie erwähnt, in der aramäischen Version *Satrap in Karien und Lykien* heißt, in den beiden anderen dagegen nur *Satrap von Lykien*, hat man kürzlich wieder auf unterschiedliche, aber jeweils untaugliche Arten zu erklären versucht. So vertrat jüngst M.D. Gyğax die Ansicht, die aramäische Version verleihe der im Jahre 337 v. Chr. gegebenen Unterordnung Lykiens unter die karische Autorität Ausdruck. Dagegen lägen der lykischen und der griechischen Version Reminiszenzen an die Verhältnisse in der Zeit vor Maussollos zugrunde, in der Karien und Lykien vielleicht gleichberechtigt gewesen seien.<sup>36</sup>

In diametralem Gegensatz dazu wertet I. Kottsieper die Nachricht über Pixodaros' Zuständigkeit für Lykien als Zeugnis einer aktuellen Neuerung und geht davon aus, daß Pixodaros zwar schon seit einigen Jahren Satrap von Karien gewesen sei, jedoch erst im Jahre 337 zusätzlich das Satrapenamt in Lykien erhalten habe. Um die Einleitungen der lykischen und der griechischen Version in dieser Weise als Datierungsformeln interpretieren zu können, muß er sie jedoch inhaltlich engstens mit der Datumsangabe der aramäischen Textversion verbinden,<sup>37</sup> was bereits P. Briant als unhaltbar zurückgewiesen hat.<sup>38</sup>

Beide Interpretationen sind letztlich vollkommen unwahrscheinlich. Gyğax bezeichnet den von ihm angenommenen Anachronismus im lykischen und griechischen Text selbst als "nicht unproblematisch."<sup>39</sup> Und Kottsieper

<sup>35</sup> Metzger 1979: 32-33; Laroche 1979: 54-62.

<sup>36</sup> Gyğax 2001: 108-109. Er unterstellt also einen Eingriff in die Verwaltungshierarchie durch Maussollos. Er spekuliert daneben mit der Möglichkeit, daß Karien und Lydien gleichrangig waren, weist dies aber zu Recht selbst als unwahrscheinlich zurück: "Wenn ... Lydien und Karien gleichgestellte Satrapien waren, was unwahrscheinlich ist, läßt sich der Übergang des lykischen Gebietes von der lydischen zur karischen Autorität folgendermaßen erklären: ..."

<sup>37</sup> Kottsieper 2001: 194.

<sup>38</sup> Briant 1998: 321-325.

<sup>39</sup> Gyğax 2001: 109 Anm. 110. Eine andere Erklärungsmöglichkeit, die Gyğax für die Diskrepanz zwischen der aramäischen und den beiden anderen Textversionen anführt,



nimmt das Jahr 337 v. Chr. als *terminus p.q.* für einen *status quo* in der Verwaltungsorganisation, der durch andere Quellen schon für eine erheblich frühere Zeit, nämlich die des Maussollos, belegt ist.<sup>40</sup> Seine Interpretation verbietet sich also von selbst.

Gygax' Version dagegen orientiert sich an einer weit verbreiteten Auffassung, derzufolge Lykien im Gefolge des Satrapenaufstandes an die Provinz Karien angeschlossen worden sei.<sup>41</sup> Wie andere vor ihm<sup>42</sup> wertet nun auch Gygax die Informationen, die die Trilingue von Xanthos liefert, geradezu als Bestätigung dieses alten Konstruktes.<sup>43</sup> Dabei haben die durch die Trilingue bezeugten personellen Eingriffe, also die Aufhebung der Lokalautonomie, einerseits und der hypothetische Eingriff in die Ämterhierarchie andererseits nicht zwangsläufig etwas miteinander zu tun.

Gegen den postulierten Eingriff in die Struktur der Verwaltung spricht besonders nachdrücklich, daß es den allgemein als seine Ursache angeführten Satrapenaufstand als großflächig koordinierten Vorgang nicht gegeben hat, wie M.N. Weiskopf gezeigt hat.<sup>44</sup> Folglich ist auch ein Eingriff in die Administration mit ihm nicht mehr zu begründen.<sup>45</sup>

Die unterschiedlichen Aporien, aus denen Gygax und Kottsieper mit ihren Erklärungen Auswege suchen, haben sich also dadurch ergeben, daß sie Veränderungen im Gefüge der kleinasiatischen Ämterhierarchie unterstellen, die sie nachträglich – auf wohlgerneht völlig gegensätzlichen Wegen – zu motivieren und mit den Quellen in Einklang zu bringen versuchen.

nämlich einen Irrtum in der aramäischen Fassung, empfindet er zu Recht als "nicht wahrscheinlich" (*ibid.*).

<sup>40</sup> Arist., *Oec.* II.1348a; Polyaen. v.42. Zweifel äußert Hornblower 1982: 181-2 allerdings allein unter Hinweis auf die bekannte strittige Emendierung in Lucian., *Dial.Mort.* 24.1.

<sup>41</sup> Gygax 2001: 102-109, bes. 108: "Lydien behielt nach dem Satrapenaufstand Karien und Lykien mit dem Unterschied, daß auf Grund der oben erwähnten Konflikte jetzt beide Gebiete dem Maussolos zugewiesen wurden." Vgl. Treuber 1887: 104; Judeich 1892: 241-242; Bruns-Özgan 1996/1997: 47, etc.

<sup>42</sup> Metzger 1979: 34-37; Bryce 1986: 112-114; Kolb 1989: 15-16, etc.

<sup>43</sup> Gygax 2001: 109 Anm. 110.

<sup>44</sup> Weiskopf 1982: 337-464; *idem* 1989.

<sup>45</sup> Die Folgerungen von Debord 1999: 148, 366, sind völlig haltlos; vgl. Jacobs 2002: 419. Wer an der historischen Existenz des Satrapenaufstandes festhalten will, kann dies nur über eine Widerlegung Weiskopfs rechtfertigen. Alles andere verschöbe in unzulässiger Weise die Beweislast. Es kann nicht länger die Aufgabe sein zu beweisen, daß die Verwaltungshierarchie unverändert blieb, sondern zu belegen, daß es Veränderungen gegeben hat.

Die Divergenz der aramäischen Textversion einerseits und der lykischen und der griechischen andererseits ist jedoch so zu erklären, daß die aramäische Version die Position des Pixodaros objektiv beschreibt, während die beiden schon sprachlich auf die einheimische Bevölkerung gemünzten Versionen Pixodaros nur als Satrapen des eigenen, des lykischen Gebietes bezeichnen, ein Fall nicht ohne Parallele.<sup>46</sup>

Notwendigerweise als Änderung zu begreifen ist nur die Präsenz der Archonten und des Epimeletes, denn hier wissen wir definitiv, daß zuvor ein Kollegium von Dynasten die Macht in Händen hielt, so lückenhaft unser Wissen über deren Einflußbereiche und Stellung zueinander auch sein mag.

Insbesondere die gut verständliche griechische Textversion der Trilingue scheint auf den ersten Blick geeignet, die Annahme zu stützen, daß der Eingriff in die lykische Administration eine Initiative des Pixodaros gewesen sei. Die Formulierung läßt indes nicht erkennen, ob es erst die Amtshandlung des Pixodaros war, die die lykischen Dynasten entmündigte und die Macht in die Hände von Beamten gab, oder ob auf bereits bestehenden Beamtenposten nur Personen ausgetauscht wurden. Im erstgenannten Fall lieferte zwar das Jahr 341/40 v.Chr., das Jahr des Amtsantritts des Pixodaros, einen *terminus p.q.* für die verwaltungspolitische Maßnahme, doch wäre uns ihr Anlaß definitiv unbekannt.

Nach der zweiten Version gälte der *terminus p.q.* lediglich für die Amtszeit der genannten Personen, während die Aufhebung der Lokalautonomie erheblich früher erfolgt wäre.

Ein Geschehen, das die Quellen tatsächlich als mögliche Ursache für die letztgenannte Veränderung anbieten, ist die Expansion Limyras unter seinem Dynasten Perikle,<sup>47</sup> doch als Anlaß zu sichern ist auch diese nicht.

Gegen die leichtfertige Annahme einer Veränderung in der Verwaltungshierarchie spricht grundsätzlich die eingangs betonte Tatsache, daß sich ein System zur Machterhaltung nur durch die Fähigkeit, das Herrschaftsgefüge zu bewahren, auszeichnen kann. Wenn Krisen immer wieder zu Veränderungen dieses Gefüges geführt hätten, wäre daraus die Erkenntnis zu ziehen, daß das System versagte. Wenn es sich jedoch bewährte, gab es keinen Anlaß für Veränderungen. So dürfte der Satrapenaufstand für das Postulat einer

<sup>46</sup> Vgl. den Fall des (Groß-)Satrapen von Lydien Strouthas (Diod. XIV.99.1; Xen., *Hell.* IV.8.17), der in einer Inschrift aus Milet als Satrap von Ionien bezeichnet wird: Στρούθος ... ἐξαιράτης ἐὼν Ἰωνίης (Frederich 1908: 1.2, 113-114, Z. 29-30; Dittenberger 1915: 134).

<sup>47</sup> Bryce 1986: 112-114.

Umstrukturierung nicht einmal dann ohne weiteres herangezogen werden, wenn es ihn gegeben hätte!

Die persische Verwaltungsordnung hat sich im großen und ganzen bewährt. Wenn wir über Konsequenzen im Gefolge von Krisen unterrichtet werden, erfahren wir deshalb fast ausschließlich von personellen Veränderungen. Ein Beispiel hierfür bietet der den Vorgängen in Lykien eng vergleichbare Austausch des kilikischen Syennesis gegen persische Beamte, von denen ein gewisser Mazaïos für uns als erster faßbar ist.<sup>48</sup> Die Ursachen für die Initiative sind dort genauso wenig bekannt wie im Falle Lykiens, sollten aber einen krisenhaften Charakter solcher Art gehabt haben, daß eine direktere Möglichkeit der Einflußnahme durch die Administration wünschenswert erschien.

So wird es auch im Falle des kleinasiatischen Südwestens gewesen sein. In einem Zeitraum der durch die jüngsten Nachrichten über die Expansion des Perikle und das Datum 337 v.Chr. eingegrenzt wird, wurden die Geschicke Lykiens in die Hände von Beamten gelegt, die der karische Satrap bestimmte. Der Anlaß hierfür ist uns letztlich unbekannt.

Die nämliche Veränderung, namentlich die Aufhebung der Autonomieregelungen, durch die der karische Einfluß unmittelbar wurde, genügt vollkommen als Erklärung dafür, daß nunmehr in ein renommirtes Heiligtum nahe dem alten lykischen Hauptort Xanthos mit dem Basileus Kaunios und Arkesimas karische Gottheiten Einzug hielten. Daß dieser Einfluß in schwächerer Form auch in früherer Zeit faßbar ist, etwa durch karische Buchstaben in lykischen Münzlegenden,<sup>49</sup> spricht aber – neben manchem anderen – dagegen, daß die Trilingue von Xanthos einen tiefgreifenden Einschnitt in die lykischen Verhältnisse bezeugt.

Der Verfasser hat an anderer Stelle seine Auffassung dargelegt, daß Lykien schon seit seiner Eroberung durch Harpagos in den 40er Jahren des 6. Jh. v.Chr. zu Karien gehörte. Damals war zunächst die neuerworbene Kleinsatrapie Karien der (Haupt-)Satrapie Lydien angegliedert worden; bald danach wurde Karien das neu eroberte, zuvor unabhängige Lykien zugeschlagen, und dies blieb so bis ans Ende der Achämenidenzeit.<sup>50</sup> Diese Ansicht konnte durch die Darlegungen von Kottsieper und Gygas nicht erschüttert werden.

Ein wesentlicher Einwand ergäbe sich allerdings, wenn die weit verbreitete Ansicht, daß die Satrapie Karien überhaupt erst im 4. Jh. v.Chr.

<sup>48</sup> Diod. XVI.42.1. Für die Stellung Kilikiens in der Verwaltungshierarchie hat sich hieraus keine greifbare Veränderung ergeben. Vgl. Frye 1972: 88; Asheri 1991: 45-48.

<sup>49</sup> Mørkholm & Zahle 1976: 54, 57.

<sup>50</sup> Jacobs 1993: 63-69.

eingerrichtet wurde, zuträfe.<sup>51</sup> Sie ist jedoch ebenso unbegründet wie die zuvor genannte. Denn in welchem geopolitischen Rahmen sollte Amorges seinen Aufstand inszeniert haben, wenn mit 'Karien' nicht die *Satrapie Karien* gemeint wäre?<sup>52</sup> In welchem Rahmen, ist ferner zu fragen, soll Artemisia (I.) Schiffe und Mannschaften ausgehoben haben, die Xerxes I. nach Salamis begleiteten?<sup>53</sup> Wofür schließlich soll Karkā in den altpersischen Länderlisten stehen, wenn nicht für die von Harpagos eroberte einstige lydische Provinz Karien?<sup>54</sup>

Die Unterordnung Lykiens unter Karien, die, wie oben bereits festgestellt, zumindest für die Zeit seit Maussollos weitgehend unbestritten ist, findet im Verhältnis Mysiens zu Phrygien am Hellespont eine Parallele. Die dortigen Verhältnisse werden deutlich, als Mania, die Gattin des Zenis, des bisherigen Satrapen von Mysien, ihrem verstorbenen Ehemann im Amt folgen will. Die Entscheidungsbefugnis über die Nachfolge lag bei Pharnabazos, dem Satrapen von Phrygien am Hellespont. Ihn konnte Mania für sich einnehmen und ihr Ziel so erreichen.<sup>55</sup>

Das problematische Beispiel Karien-Lykien wurde an den Anfang gestellt, um einen Fall von Konfliktbewältigung auf einer Ebene zu demonstrieren, über die die Quellen nur selten einschlägige Auskünfte bieten. Im Rahmen des Gesamtbildes soll dieses Beispiel dazu dienen zu zeigen, daß die Mechanismen der Konfliktbewältigung auf allen Ebenen der Verwaltungshierarchie prinzipiell gleich abliefen. Demnach war es Aufgabe der nächsthöheren Instanz, in diesem Falle des im Rang eines Kleinsatrapen agierenden Dynasten von Karien, die Verhältnisse in Lykien zu ordnen.

Glücklicherweise gibt es auf den höheren Ebenen der Reichsverwaltung besser dokumentierte Vorgänge. Ein solcher ist der Fall des Datames: Auch er war ein lokaler Potentat und als Nachfolger seines Vaters Kamisares zunächst Statthalter jenes Teils von Kilikien, der Kappadokien benachbart liegt, wie Nepos schreibt.<sup>56</sup> Das nämliche Kappadokien aber wurde von Leukosyrern bewohnt, wie Nepos an gleicher Stelle mitteilt. Nun siedelten die Weißsyrrer im

<sup>51</sup> Bockisch 1969: 137; Weiskopf 1982: 158, vgl. 221; Hornblower 1982: 19, 34; Debord 1999: 128.

<sup>52</sup> Thuc. VIII.5.

<sup>53</sup> Hdt. VII.99; Paus. II.11.3; Polyän. VIII.53.5.

<sup>54</sup> DNa 30; DSe 30; DSf 33; XPh 28. Zweifel daran, daß mit Karkā Karien gemeint sei, äußerten zwar Hachmann & Penner 1999: 256 Anm. 50. 270, jedoch ohne Kenntnis von Schmitt 1976-80: 424.

<sup>55</sup> Xen., *Hell.* III.1.10-12; Troxell 1981: 28.

<sup>56</sup> Nepos, *Dat.* 1.1-2.

Halysbogen;<sup>57</sup> die Provinz des Datames kann deshalb nur nördlich des Taurus gelegen haben, und es handelt sich dabei offensichtlich um jenes Kilikien, das schon Herodot zwischen Halys und Euphrat lokalisierte, das aber meist Kappadokien genannt wird, im folgenden um der Klarheit willen Kappadokien am Taurus.<sup>58</sup> Hier also bekleidete Datames zunächst das Amt eines Kleinsatrapen, im Rang seinem Zeitgenossen Maussollos ebenbürtig.

Dann brach ein Aufstand in Paphlagonien aus; der lokale Dynast Thuys, auch er im Rang einem Kleinsatrapen entsprechend, versuchte, sich unabhängig zu machen. Datames, der, weil er sich bewährt hatte, inzwischen mit größeren Aufgaben betraut wurde (*maioribus rebus praeesse coepit*), wurde mit der Niederschlagung beauftragt.<sup>59</sup> Er konnte in Paphlagonien nur vom nördlichen Kappadokien, von Kappadokien am Meer, aus eingreifen.<sup>60</sup> Dies aber kann eigentlich nur bedeuten, daß er inzwischen dort residierte, daß also mit *res maiores* eine Beförderung zum Hauptsatrapen umschrieben wird. Datames war also inzwischen aufgestiegen und für die gesamte Region zwischen Schwarzmeerküste und Taurus zuständig.<sup>61</sup>

Daß dies tatsächlich der Fall war, wird im Zusammenhang mit seinen eigenen Aufstandsplänen offenkundig. Er besetzte, so Nepos, Paphlagonien, verheimlichte aber, welche Gesinnung er gegenüber dem König hegte.<sup>62</sup> Wenn dies durch die Okkupation Paphlagoniens nicht offenbar wurde, muß dieses zu seinem Zuständigkeitsbereich gehört haben. Das heißt: Es war diese seine Funktion als Hauptsatrap von Kappadokien, durch die Datames der für die Niederschlagung des Thuys-Aufstandes in der Kleinsatrapie Paphlagonien zuständige Beamte wurde.<sup>63</sup> Von seinen Amtsbefugnissen in jenem Raum zeugt auch seine Münzprägung in Sinope.<sup>64</sup>

Die Rebellion des Datames wurde dem Hof von seinem Sohn Sysinas verraten. Artaxerxes II. schickte daraufhin Autophradates, den Statthalter von Lydien, nach Kappadokien.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>57</sup> Strabo XII.3.9 (544 C); XVI.1.2 (737 C).

<sup>58</sup> Hdt. V.52, vgl. V.49; Jacobs 1994: 141, 144.

<sup>59</sup> Nepos, *Dat.* 2.1.

<sup>60</sup> Jacobs 1994: Karte I.

<sup>61</sup> Immerhin bringen Diod. XV.91.2, und Front., *Strat.* II.7.9, Datames pauschal mit Kappadokien in Verbindung. Zu weiteren Operationen des Datames im südlichen Schwarzmeergebiet siehe Polyaen. VII.21.2, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Nepos, *Dat.* 5.6.

<sup>63</sup> Jacobs 1994: 140-142.

<sup>64</sup> Moysey 1986: 25 Pl. 5.61; Alram 1986: 110 Nr. 344.

<sup>65</sup> Nepos, *Dat.* 7.1; vgl. Polyaen. VII.21.6-7.

Nun wirkt es auf den ersten Blick befremdlich, daß die Zentrale nicht Kräfte aus dem Zentrum entsandte, um die Rebellion zu beenden, sondern den weiter westlich residierenden lydischen Statthalter beauftragte. Die Erklärung kann nur sein, daß Autophradates der zuständige Beamte war und deshalb ins Geschehen eingriff. Damit wäre auch für Autophradates jene Kompetenz bezeugt, die Xenophon dem Prinzen Kyros bescheinigt hat: Satrap von Lydien, Großphrygien und Kappadokien.<sup>66</sup>

Autophradates kann jedoch keine entscheidenden Erfolge gegen Datames verbuchen. Eine Kriegslist, bei der der Versuch unternommen wird, den Aufständischen von Süden durch die Kilikischen Tore anzugreifen, scheitert.<sup>67</sup> Etwa 368 v. Chr. ruhen die Waffen. Jetzt greift die Zentrale zu anderen Mitteln und entsendet einen gewissen Mithridates. Nepos berichtet, daß sich dieser in Datames' Vertrauen eingeschlichen und ihn bei günstiger Gelegenheit umgebracht habe.<sup>68</sup>

Jener Mithridates begegnete schon bei einem früheren Anlaß. Ihm nämlich hatte Datames den aufständischen Fürsten Aspis von Kataonien nach seiner Gefangennahme übergeben, damit er ihn zum Großkönig expediere.<sup>69</sup> Mithridates war also ein Mann von hohem Rang – wir kommen darauf noch zurück –, und es mögen Zweifel angebracht sein, ob sich Mithridates wirklich einer Liste bedienen mußte, um des Datames habhaft zu werden.

Ganz offensichtlich spiegeln die Karriere und der Untergang des Datames Mechanismen der Konfliktbekämpfung in der achämenidischen Reichsverwaltung wieder. Wir beobachten, daß im Falle der genannten Rebellionen stets die nächsthöhere Instanz zur Niederschlagung eingesetzt wurde. Der rangmäßig einem Kleinsatrapen entsprechende Dynast Thuys wurde von Datames in seiner Position als Hauptsatrap in die Schranken gewiesen. Gegen den Hauptsatrapen Datames wurde der Großsatrap Autophradates aufgeboten. Erst als dieser seine Aufgabe nicht zu bewältigen vermochte, schaltete sich die Zentrale ein. Die Verwaltungsordnung gab demnach die Wege vor, die zur Konfliktbewältigung eingeschlagen wurden. Die Mechanismen griffen entsprechend dem Aufbau der Ämterhierarchie.

Andere Fälle bestätigen die Regelhaftigkeit der Abläufe und indirekt das für den Verwaltungsaufbau vorausgesetzte Organigramm.

<sup>66</sup> Xen., *Anab.* I.9.7; zur Kompetenz der lydischen Satrapen siehe Jacobs 2002: 418.

<sup>67</sup> Nepos, *Dat.* 7.2; Jacobs 1994: 154 Anm. 52.

<sup>68</sup> Nepos, *Dat.* 10-11, und Polyaen. VII.29.1, in unterschiedlichen Versionen.

<sup>69</sup> Nepos, *Dat.* 4.5.

Als sich Amorges, der uneheliche Sohn des Pissouthnes, in Karien erhob, rief dies den lydischen Satrapen Tissaphernes auf den Plan.<sup>70</sup> Er wurde dort natürlich in seiner Eigenschaft als übergeordneter Beamter, als Hauptsatrap, tätig.

In gleicher Funktion griff der lydische Satrap Autophradates in Phrygien am Hellsponit ein, als dort Ariobarzanes den Aufstand versuchte.<sup>71</sup>

Neben den genannten Fällen von Rebellion kam es, wie angesprochen, auch zu Konflikten zwischen einzelnen Satrapen. Um einen solchen handelt es sich im Falle der Auseinandersetzung zwischen Oroites, einem noch von Kambyses III. in Sardeis eingesetzten Beamten, und Mitrobates, dem damaligen Statthalter von Daskyleion. Nach Auskunft des Herodot nutzte Oroites die Unruhen, die nach dem Tode des Kambyses III. im Reich ausgebrochen waren, um Mitrobates, den Statthalter von Daskyleion, also von Phrygien am Hellsponit, samt seinem Sohn Kranaspes umzubringen. Außerdem, so Herodot, verübte er "auch andere Schändlichkeiten. So ließ er einen Boten des Dareios an ihn, weil ihn der Inhalt der Botschaft ärgerte, auf dem Rückweg töten."<sup>72</sup> Was der Inhalt dieser Botschaft war, erfahren wir erst ein wenig später. Nachdem Dareios den Thron bestiegen hatte, also zumindest des Gaumäta Herr geworden war, wollte er Oroites für seine Morde zur Rechenschaft ziehen. Doch dies war nicht so einfach, denn des Dareios Position im Reich war nicht hinreichend gefestigt, und die Satrapie des Oroites umfaßte laut Herodot Phrygien, Lydien und Ionien.<sup>73</sup> Dareios klagte vor den vornehmsten Persern deshalb folgendermaßen: "Zwei unserer Brüder, Mitrobates und seinen Sohn, hat er ermordet, und meine Boten, die ihn zu mir entbieten sollen, tötet er."<sup>74</sup> Dareios hatte den Satrapen also zu sich rufen lassen, aber dieser hatte der Aufforderung nicht Folge geleistet. Nun berichtet Herodot weiter, daß sich auf den Hilferuf des Königs immerhin 30 Männer meldeten und ihre Unterstützung anboten. Angeblich mußte das Los unter ihnen entscheiden, wem die Aufgabe zufallen sollte, Oroites zu beseitigen. Das Los fiel auf einen gewissen Bagaïos. Dieser verfaßte nun eine ganze Reihe von Briefen und siegelte sie mit dem königlichen Siegel. Am Ziel seiner Mission angelangt, ließ er die Briefe der Reihe nach von einem Schreiber in Anwesenheit des Oroites, aber auch seiner Leibwache verlesen. Als sich Bagaïos ausrechnen konnte, daß die Leibwache seinen Befehlen Folge leisten würde, ließ er jene Briefe verlesen, in denen der Befehl

<sup>70</sup> Thuc. VIII.5.

<sup>71</sup> Xen., *Ag.* II.26.

<sup>72</sup> Hdt. III.126 (Übers. Horneffer). Ein wenig ergiebiger Versuch, die Vorgänge zu deuten, findet sich bei Boffo 1979.

<sup>73</sup> Hdt. III.127.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.* (Übers. Horneffer).

erging, Oroites den Gehorsam aufzukündigen und ihn zu ermorden. Die Wache leistete dem Befehl Folge, und so kam Bagaïos zum Erfolg.<sup>75</sup> Hier bekommt die Erzählung zwar anekdotischen Charakter, doch können wir festhalten, daß die Initiative zur Beilegung des Konflikts, wie auch immer dieser Vorgang tatsächlich abgelaufen sein mag, abermals vom Hof ausging.

Hieraus muß man folgern, daß es gegenüber dem Satrapen von Sardeis innerhalb der Hierarchie der Provinzverwaltung keine höhere Instanz mehr gab. In der Tat fällt auf, daß jenes Amt, das Amt des Großsatrapen, nicht wie andere Posten in einer Familie erblich war, sondern daß der Statthalter jeweils neu berufen wurde.<sup>76</sup> Die Bestallung erfolgte durch den König; den künftigen Untergebenen wurde schriftlich mitgeteilt, wer der neue Amtsträger in Sardeis sein werde. Dies ist uns für den Fall des Kyros belegt; allen Statthaltern und Dynasten wurde der neue Vorgesetzte durch einen Brief Dareios' II. avisiert.<sup>77</sup> Kyros ersetzte in seinem neuen Amt Tissaphernes, dessen Politik nicht mehr die Zustimmung des Hofes fand. Die Briefe signalisierten also gleichzeitig die Entmachtung des Letztgenannten. Mit der Entsendung des Kyros beendete die Zentrale somit einen Konflikt mit einem der höchsten Beamten in der Reichsadministration überhaupt.

Nach dem Tode des Kyros auf dem Feldzug gegen seinen älteren Bruder Artaxerxes II. wurde vorübergehend wieder Tissaphernes in das hohe Amt eingesetzt, doch er verspielte die Gunst bei Hofe schließlich völlig. Diesmal allerdings scheint der Konflikt gravierender gewesen zu sein als beim ersten Mal. Auch jetzt informierten Briefe die Statthalter untergeordneten Ranges über die Sachlage, doch um Tissaphernes zu beseitigen, mußte ein Amtsträger auftreten, der die Zentralgewalt selbst repräsentierte. Der König schickte einen gewissen Tithraustes.<sup>78</sup> Dieser war, einer Angabe des Nepos zufolge, Chiliarch, *qui secundum gradum imperii tenebat*.<sup>79</sup> Man erkennt, daß der Chiliarch, vergleichbar in seinem Rang dem *praefectus praetorio* der römischen Kaiserzeit, als letzte und höchste Autorität aufzutreten hatte, wenn es darum ging, die mächtigsten Beamten der Provinzverwaltung in die Schranken zu weisen.

Blicken wir noch einmal auf die Oroites- und auf die Datames-Affäre zurück. Daß es ein Losentscheid war, der Bagaïos dazu bestimmte, Oroites aus dem Wege zu räumen, wird man mit Fug und Recht bezweifeln dürfen. Auch Bagaïos war damals mit Briefen ausgerüstet, und insgesamt ist der Vorgang dem

<sup>75</sup> Hdt. III.128.

<sup>76</sup> Jacobs 1994: 103 Anm. 61.

<sup>77</sup> Xen., *Hell.* I.4.3; vgl. Thuc. VIII.5.

<sup>78</sup> Diod. XIV.80.7-8; Xen., *Hell.* III.4.25; Plut., *Ages.* 10.4; vgl. Polyän. VII.16.1.

<sup>79</sup> Nepos, *Conon* 3.2.

der Entmachtung des Tissaphernes so ähnlich, daß es kaum von der Hand zu weisen ist, daß jener Bagaioi ebenso Chiliarch resp. Hazārapatiš war wie Tithraustes rund 120 Jahre später. Und auch Mithridates dürfte das Amt des Chiliarchen innegehabt haben. Ob er sich, um sich seiner Aufgabe zu entledigen, wirklich einer List bedienen mußte oder ob er Datames kraft seiner Autorität beseitigen konnte, kann offen bleiben. Fest steht, daß im Falle der Unbotmäßigkeit eines Großsatrapen oder, wenn der Großsatrap der Lage nicht Herr wurde, der Hazārapatiš eingeschaltet wurde. Und deutlich wird auch, daß diese *ultima ratio* kompromißlos umgesetzt wurde. Jeder der drei Betroffenen zahlte mit dem Leben.

Daß der lydische Statthalter nur vom Hof selbst seines Amtes enthoben werden konnte, wußte auch Tissaphernes. Er reiste 404 v.Chr. als Begleitung seines Amtsnachfolgers Kyros nach Persien ans Sterbebett Dareios' II. Nach dessen Tod denunzierte er Kyros bei seinem Bruder Artaxerxes II. – zu Unrecht, wie Xenophon behauptet.<sup>80</sup> Ob dies zutrifft und die Intrige des Tissaphernes nur darauf zielte, das verlorene Amt wiederzugewinnen, oder ob Tissaphernes im Recht und seine Anzeige ein Akt der Loyalität war, ist in diesem Zusammenhang unerheblich. Seine Initiative blieb erfolglos, und Kyros kehrte auf seinen Posten zurück, um spätestens jetzt tatsächlich den Umsturz zu planen.<sup>81</sup>

Auffällig ist, daß der Prinz Kyros als Vorwand für den Zug nach Osten vorgibt, die Pisidier ganz aus seinem Land vertreiben zu wollen.<sup>82</sup> Von C. Nepos werden Pisidier auch genannt, als es um den Aufstand des Fürsten Aspis geht, den Datames als Hauptsatrap von Kappadokien niederschlagen sollte; mit diesem nämlich wollten sich die Pisidier gerade damals verbünden.<sup>83</sup> Man mag sich nun fragen, warum sich Kyros um die Pisidier kümmerte, wenn sie eigentlich in die Zuständigkeit des Satrapen von Kappadokien fielen. Kyros muß hier einen gewissen Erklärungsnotstand gehabt haben. Um so beachtenswerter ist deshalb, daß er Megaphernes, den Satrapen von Kappadokien am Taurus, als er in dessen Gebiet eintraf, in Dana hinrichten ließ.<sup>84</sup> Womöglich wurde hier die Illusion genährt, daß der zuständige Beamte seine Aufgabe nicht habe erfüllen können oder wollen. Als Kyros jedoch den Taurus in Richtung Kilikien überschritt, ließen sich seine eigentlichen Pläne, der Umsturzversuch, nicht mehr verheimlichen, denn hier lag die Grenze seiner Großsatrapie und definitiv das

<sup>80</sup> Xen., *Anab.* I.1.2-3; vgl. Ctesias bei Phot. §57 (König).

<sup>81</sup> Xen., *Anab.* I.1.3-4; Ctesias bei Phot. §§57-58 (König).

<sup>82</sup> Xen., *Anab.* I.1.11-2.1.

<sup>83</sup> Nepos, *Dat.* 4.4.

<sup>84</sup> Xen., *Anab.* I.2.20.

Ende seiner Befugnisse.<sup>85</sup> Nur durch eine Solderhöhung konnte er die Soldaten dafür gewinnen, sich für seine eigentlichen, jetzt offenliegenden Pläne zur Verfügung zu stellen, und sie zum Weitermarsch bewegen.<sup>86</sup>

Wiederum war keine Satrapeninstanz mehr gegeben, die sich des ausgebrochenen Konfliktes hätte annehmen können und müssen. Vielleicht bedingte die Tatsache, daß es hier um die Krone des Königs der Könige selbst ging, daß nicht der Hazārapatiš, sondern Artaxerxes II. selbst es übernahm, den Konflikt auszuräumen, was ihm in der Schlacht bei Kunaxa bekanntlich gelang. Jedenfalls zeigt sich abermals, daß gegen den Satrapen von Sardeis nur noch die Zentrale agieren konnte.

Nach der Niederlage bei Kunaxa, in der Kyros den Tod fand, änderte sich gewissermaßen der Status der griechischen Söldnerarmee. Zuvor noch im Dienste einer Autorität, der nur die Zentralgewalt selbst entgegentreten konnte, befand sie sich nunmehr auf dem Rückzug, ein Fremdkörper, ein von außen kommendes militärisches Potential, das man zwar beobachten mußte, das aber, sofern es nicht neue Ziele definierte, keine ernsthafte Bedrohung mehr darstellte. So erregte das Heer auch nur noch die Aufmerksamkeit der jeweiligen Gebietsherren.<sup>87</sup> Orontes, Satrap von Ostarmenien, versuchte, die Fremden am Kentrites, dem heutige Botan Çayı, von seinem Gebiet fernzuhalten, mußte sie jedoch passieren lassen.<sup>88</sup> So konnten sie ihren Marsch fortsetzen, bis sie vermutlich am Teleboas, dem modernen Karasu, das Gebiet des Tiribazos, des Kleinsatrapen von Westarmenien, erreichten. Der eskortierte sie, bis der Winter einbrach.<sup>89</sup> Schließlich verließen sie sein Gebiet bei Kotyora per Schiff.<sup>90</sup> Die Schifffahrt endete in Herakleia in Bithynien. Damit waren die 10.000 – für den zuständigen Satrapen ganz unvermutet – im Gebiet der Kleinsatrapie Phrygien am Hellespont gelandet. Pharnabazos sah sich daraufhin veranlaßt, in Eilmärschen zur Sicherung seines Gebietes nach Osten zu ziehen, wo er die Griechen unvermittelt angriff.<sup>91</sup>

Es zeigt sich, daß man Eindringlingen von außen Kräfte je nach Einschätzung der Lage entgegenstellte. Für die heimkehrenden Griechen genügte

<sup>85</sup> Jacobs 1994: 154. Gegen Kilikien wurden, um den Durchmarsch durch die Kilikischen Tore zu erzwingen, die ersten kriegserischen Maßnahmen während des Feldzuges ergriffen (Xen., *Anab.* I.2.21; *Hell.* III.1.1).

<sup>86</sup> Xen., *Anab.* I.3.1-21.

<sup>87</sup> Jacobs 1990: 42-45; *idem* 1994: 184-185.

<sup>88</sup> Xen., *Anab.* IV.3.

<sup>89</sup> Xen., *Anab.* VI.4.7, 17-18; 5.1, etc.

<sup>90</sup> Xen., *Anab.* VI.1.14.

<sup>91</sup> Xen., *Anab.* VI.4.24; *Ages.* V.2.1, 4.1, 24.

das jeweils lokal vorhandene Kräftepotential. Wenn das Geschehen komplexer wurde bzw. die Möglichkeiten eines einzelnen Kleinsatrapen überforderte, operierte man auf einer höheren Ebene. So ist bei der Verteidigung der kleinasiatischen Küste gegen Agesilaos Tissaphernes in seiner Eigenschaft als Hauptsatrap gefordert und als solcher nicht nur im Bereich seiner eigenen Kernsatrapie, sondern in der gesamten Küstenregion engagiert. Der griechische Feldherr wußte um die entsprechende administrative und strategische Aufgabenverteilung und nutzte dies zu seinen Gunsten aus. So täuschte er zunächst einen Angriff auf Karien vor, um das Tissaphernes nicht nur seiner eigenen Besitzungen wegen bemüht war, und marschierte, als der Statthalter nach Süden eilte, gegen Städte in Phrygien am Hellespont.<sup>92</sup> Ein andermal kündigte er einen Angriff auf das Zentrum der Satrapie an. Da Tissaphernes abermals mit einem Täuschungsmanöver rechnete und darauf spekulierte, daß nun Karien Ziel eines Angriffs sein werde, begab er sich zum Schutz der Kleinsatrapie Karien wiederum nach Süden. Umgehend startete Agesilaos einen verheerenden Plünderungszug durch die zentrale Kleinsatrapie Lydien.<sup>93</sup>

Dies führt abschließend auf den Angriff der Makedonen unter Alexander dem Großen. Hier hat man verschiedentlich moniert, die Perser hätten den griechischen Angriff in seiner bedrohlichen Dimension unterschätzt.<sup>94</sup> Dies allerdings allein mit dem Mißerfolg zu begründen, hieße sicherlich zu kurz greifen. Denn es ist erkennbar, daß die Perser der makedonischen Offensive eine beträchtliche Bedeutung beimaßen. Alexander der Große landete bekanntlich im Gebiet der Kleinsatrapie Phrygien am Hellespont, und hier fand am Granikos auch die erste wichtige Schlacht in jener historischen Auseinandersetzung statt. Aber es waren durchaus nicht nur die Kräfte Phrygiens am Hellespont unter ihrem Satrapen Arsites, die den Eindringlingen entgegentraten, sondern beteiligt waren ferner Atizyes, der Satrap von Großphrygien,<sup>95</sup> Spithridates, der Satrap von Lydien und Ionien,<sup>96</sup> und Mithrobouzanos, der Satrap von Kappadokien.<sup>97</sup> Da lokale Dynasten an der Operation nicht teilnahmen, stand die Reiterei aus

<sup>92</sup> Xen., *Ages.* 1.15-16; *Hell.* III.4.11-15; Plut., *Ages.* 9.1-3; Nepos, *Ages.* 3.1-2.

<sup>93</sup> Xen., *Ages.* 1.28-29; *Hell.* III.4.20-24; Plut., *Ages.* 10.1-3; Polyän. II.1.9; Nepos, *Ages.* 3.4-5; beide Ereignisse sind zusammengezogen bei Front., *Strat.* 1.8.12; zur Zuständigkeit des Tissaphernes als Satrap von Sardis siehe Paus. III.9.5. Vgl. De Voto 1988: 44-53.

<sup>94</sup> Vgl. allgemein HEP: 838-843.

<sup>95</sup> Arr., *Anab.* 1.25.3; II.11.8.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.* 1.15.8, 16.3.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.* 1.16.3; Diod. XVII.21.3.

Paphlagonien unter dem Kommando des Arsites.<sup>98</sup> Schon die Präsenz des Spithridates, des Großsatrapen von Lydien, und des Mithrobouzanos, des Hauptsatrapen von Kappadokien, zeigt, daß Kräfte aus einem Gebiet zusammengezogen worden waren, das genau jenem entsprach, über das sich zuvor die Zuständigkeit von Großsatrapen wie Autophradates, Kyros oder Tissaphernes erstreckt hatte, kurz: die Kräfte der Großsatrapie Lydien. Man hatte das Bedrohungspotential also durchaus sehr hoch veranschlagt.

Die Konsequenz der Niederlage am Granikos war dann folgerichtig nicht nur der Verlust von Phrygien am Hellespont, sondern der gesamten Großsatrapie Sparda/Lydien. Erst im Kilikien südlich des Taurus, also auf dem Gebiet der Großsatrapie Bābiruš/Babylonien, formierte man den Widerstand bei Issos erneut, jetzt aber unter Leitung der Zentrale und unter Aufbietung von Kräften aus allen Teilen des Reiches.

### Zusammenfassung

Die Mechanismen der Konfliktbewältigung im achämenidischen Persien spielen im Rahmen der von der Administration vorgegebenen Zuständigkeiten. Erhob sich beispielsweise ein autonomer Volksstamm oder ein Stadtfürst, war, wenn überhaupt, zunächst der zuständige Kleinsatrap aufgerufen, die Ordnung wiederherzustellen. War eine ganze Kleinsatrapie in Aufruhr, war der übergeordnete Hauptsatrap, war ein Hauptsatrap rebellisch, der zuständige Großsatrap für die Konfliktbewältigung zuständig. Erhob sich jedoch ein Großsatrap, oder sann er gar auf Umsturz, war in jedem Fall der Hof selbst gefordert, initiativ zu werden.

Wenn die jeweils zuständige Ebene versagte und den Konflikt nicht bereinigen konnte, führte dies zur Einschaltung der nächsthöheren Instanz, wie man dies beispielsweise im Falle des Datames beobachten kann.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist noch ein Wort über die Funktion der Provinzgrenzen zu verlieren. Sie steckten den Rahmen, innerhalb dessen sich z.B. eine Rebellion definierte, ebenso aber auch die Zuständigkeit jener Instanz, der die Beilegung des Konfliktes oblag. Bei autonomen Gebieten bildeten sie jedoch außerdem eine Demarkationslinie, vor der auch übergeordnete Instanzen in der Regel haltmachten. Zu den Autonomieregelungen gehörte offenbar unter anderem, Konflikte im Inneren selbst zu regeln. So mischten sich übergeordnete Instanzen zunächst weder in die Auseinandersetzungen der lykischen Dynasten untereinander ein noch beim Versuch des Euagoras, sich ganz Zyperns zu

<sup>98</sup> Diod. XVII.19.4.

bemächtigen.<sup>99</sup> Signalwirkung hatte es allerdings, wenn der Tribut ausblieb oder Grenzen verletzt wurden. Solches mag im Falle Lykiens geschehen sein, in Zypern war es offenbar ein Hilferuf der noch nicht eroberten Städte, der ein Eingreifen zur Folge hatte.<sup>100</sup>

Einen Sonderfall bildete eine Bedrohung von außen. Hierbei war es weniger eine Frage der unmittelbaren Zuständigkeit, sondern eher der Einschätzung, in welchem Rahmen man den Widerstand organisierte. So genügte für die abziehenden 10.000 Kyreer eine Eskorte der jeweiligen Kleinsatrapie. Für die spartanischen Angriffe nach Ende des Peloponnesischen Krieges mobilisierte man die Hauptsatrapie Lydien. Für den Angriff Alexanders des Großen schließlich bemühte man am Granikos die höchste Ebene, die im Rahmen der Provinzadministration verfügbar war, nämlich alle Kräfte, die die Großsatrapie Lydien aufbieten konnte.

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<sup>99</sup> Costa 1974: 48-49; Jacobs 1994: 159-160.

<sup>100</sup> Costa 1974: 48-53; Wiesehöfer 1990: 248-249.

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**"NO-ONE HAS EXACT INFORMATION EXCEPT FOR YOU"  
COMMUNICATION BETWEEN BABYLON AND URUK  
IN THE FIRST ACHAEMENID REIGNS\***

Matthew W. Stolper – Chicago

When Cyrus II and his followers conquered Babylonia, they gained a land of scribes, clerks and record-keepers. To take effective control of institutions and their assets in the first years after the conquest, specifically to assume the Neo-Babylonian kings' claims on institutions and assets and exercise those claims for their own purposes, the new rulers needed to see, to use, to correct or to replace existing records of resources.

Among those resources, manpower was a special problem. The population of Babylonia was denser than the populations of most of the Achaemenid empire's other conquered territories, and it was growing. Workers under the effective control of institutions and private households were nevertheless scarce enough to be objects of competition among administrators, contractors, institutions, governors and the apparatus of imperial control. Workers were mobile and mortal. Even before the conquest, texts from the Eanna temple at Uruk expressed how the temple's administrators and contractors saw the consequences of these conditions: undermanned working parties, excessive work assignments,

\* Earlier versions of some of these remarks were presented at the 209<sup>th</sup> Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Baltimore, Maryland, March, 1999, at the Workshop on Ancient Society, University of Chicago, October, 2000, and the Collège de France, Paris, December, 2000. The Bisitun inscriptions of Darius I (DB) are cited according to the paragraph numbering of the Old Persian version. Babylonian dates are sometimes given in this form: day (in Arabic numerals)/month (in Roman numerals)/regnal year (in Arabic numerals; Acc. = accession period)/king's name. Conversions from Babylonian dates to Julian dates follow R.A. Parker & W.H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. - A.D. 75* (Brown University Studies 19), Providence 1956. Personal names are sometimes cited in this form: name/patronym(//ancestor's name). I thank Miguel Civil for permission to publish his copy and photographs of MM 504, and I thank Civil and Jaume Llop for permission to publish the text. Errors of substance, judgement, and expression are my own responsibility.

inadequate rations and tools, famished, dead or fugitive workers, workers conscripted by competing overseers, and escaped workers brought back in chains. Letters complain or remonstrate. Legal texts settle conflicts. These topics persist in texts written after the conquest. The tensions they entailed were part of the task that faced the new Persian governors.

Most surviving information about the first Achaemenid provincial governor in Babylonia, Gūbaru (Gk. Gobryas), comes from texts from the Eanna archives, including legal and administrative documents and letters. His title, "governor of Babylon and Across-the-River," implies that he was a kind of viceroy, a successor to the empire of the Neo-Babylonian kings.<sup>1</sup> In some relationships within Babylonia, he actually did occupy the place left by the Babylonian king. Thus, many texts record obligations sanctioned with the phrase "he (who fails to meet the obligation) bears the guilt of an offense against Gobryas, governor of Babylon and Across-the-River" (*hītu ša Gūbaru bēl pīḫat Bābili u Eber-Nāri išaddad*) in just the same way that pre-Achaemenid texts (and some texts from Gūbaru's own term of office as well) refer to "the guilt of an offense against the king." These phrases are more frequent in surviving Eanna texts from the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses than in texts from pre-Achaemenid reigns, and this increasing frequency may reflect, at least in part, a growing need for the satrap's attention to the affairs of Eanna as the postwar occupation government tried to establish control.

In fact, the earliest mentions of Gobryas are in texts that deal with men from Eanna who were summoned to Babylon to appear before the satrap. The summonses were recorded in legal documents sometimes sanctioned by the threat of "guilt of an offense against Gobryas."<sup>2</sup> Gobryas figured in these texts as the source of authority and adjudication in investigations of livestock accounts and the status of temple personnel. Soon after, he figured also as the source of administrative initiatives concerned with the same matters. Texts refer to an inspection (*amirtu*) of livestock and an inspection of temple-slaves (*širku*) ordered by Gobryas.

One of these texts (AnOr 8 61, 23/IV/8 Cyrus) records an oath sworn before the senior administrators of the Eanna temple and before two "scribes" (*tupšarru* and *sepīru*, hence recording in Akkadian on clay and in Aramaic on leather, respectively) who are described as "messengers of Gobryas sent for the inspection of livestock (of Eanna)."<sup>3</sup> The oath was taken by five overseers

<sup>1</sup> Stolper 1989: 290, with earlier literature; Dandamayev 1992: 73-8; Jursa 1996: 208-11.

<sup>2</sup> AnOr 8 43 (1/VIII/4 Cyrus), 45 (9/XII/4 Cyrus), 46 (10/XII/4 Cyrus).

<sup>3</sup> *mār-šiprēti ša Gūbaru ... ša ana muḫḫi amirtu ša šēni u lāti šapparūnu* (AnOr 8 61: 12-14).

(*nāqidus*) of groups of herdsmen (*rē<sup>2</sup>ū*). The overseers swore that they would not conceal any of the livestock, but the existence of this record of the oath, of course, implies that the satrap's representatives contemplated the possibility that assets were in fact concealed and information was withheld.

It was a realistic suspicion. A more revealing text (YOS 7 70, 13/VIII/8 Cyrus) is a memorandum of statements exchanged between the senior administrators of the temple and the notorious Gimillu, son of Innina-šum-ibni. Between the end of the reign of Nabonidus and the late reign of Cyrus, Gimillu was the person in charge of the temple's income in livestock (*ša muḫḫi rēḫāni*, literally, "in charge of arrears," more precisely, "in charge of stock on the hoof"). The many texts that portray him as violating his obligations and his contracts, and even as a criminal, represent the views of the upper temple management. Yet Gimillu survived accusations of fraud and embezzlement and, in the early reign of Darius I, he became a General Contractor (*fermier général*) in control of one of the largest tracts of Eanna's farmland.<sup>4</sup> The fact that he advanced in the face of implacable hostility from the senior temple administrators leads to the surmise that he had effective support at the satrap's court in Babylon. One of the texts that encourages this surmise is YOS 7 70, in which the temple administrators put this question to Gimillu (lines 4-10):

*širkū ša DN ša arki amirtu ina qībāta Gūbaru pīḫat Bābili u māt Eber-Nāri atta u PN musaḫḫiri bēl piqittu ša Gūbaru ina MU.8.KAM Kuraš šar Bābili šar mātātī tābukānnimma ina pānini tapqidu u ana pāni Gūbaru tatalliku minū Gūbaru ṭēme ana muḫḫišunu iškunka qībānanšima nīpuš*

"The temple slaves of Ištar of Uruk whom you [singular, Gimillu] and PN, the agent-at-large commissioned by Gobryas, brought [plural] here in year 8 of Cyrus, King of Babylon, King of Lands, after the inspection ordered by Gobryas, governor of Babylon and Across-the River, and whom you [singular, Gimillu] turned over to us – whereupon you [singular] went (back) to Gūbaru – what instructions did Gobryas give you [singular] about them? Tell us, so that we can do it."

<sup>4</sup> Of particular interest in the present context, during Gimillu's term as General Contractor, he was accused of withholding information from the administrators of Eanna by sequestering the basic records of his operations (TCL 13 181, 6/VI/2 Darius I). See Kümmel 1979: 54, 104 (with earlier literature); Cocquerillat 1968: 102-4; Joannès 2000: 212, 225-26.

Gimillu responded (lines 10-17):

*mimma tēme Gūbaru ana muḫḫišunu ul iškunanna šābī ša ābukamma ukalli-  
mukunūši dullu ina Eanna lipušu adi muḫḫi tēme ša Gūbaru ana muḫḫišunu  
tašemṁā šābē ša ina libbišunu ultu sēmeri aptūruma pūssunu aššū akī lē<sup>2</sup>i ša DN  
pūssunu ana la ḫalāqu našāka*

"Gobryas did not give me any instructions about them. The workmen whom I brought here and showed to you [plural, the administrators] may carry out work in Eanna until you [plural] hear instructions about them from Gobryas. As for those workmen among them whom I released from chains on my own guarantee, I am legally responsible for them with respect to the list of Ištar of Uruk, guaranteeing against their disappearance."

This text is rich in reference to background circumstances: gangs of chained workers, listed in the temple's administrative records (*lē<sup>2</sup>u*, literally "[set of] writing board[s]," see below), are sent (or restored) by the satrap to the temple; but Gimillu could take some of them off the temple's available workforce on the strength of a guarantee, in the form of an enforceable contract that required Gimillu to pay compensation for fugitives. But the text also implies an unsettled relationship between the satrap and the temple, in which imperfect communication worked to the advantage of Gimillu. In 531 BC, Gobryas ordered not only a survey of temple livestock, as AnOr 8 61 says, but also a survey of dependent temple workers,<sup>5</sup> as YOS 7 70 indicates. The results of the survey, however, were not communicated directly or completely to the temple. Gimillu was a middleman between Uruk and the satrap's court at Babylon. Gimillu was himself a *širku*, a temple slave. This text identifies him as acting in concert with the satrap's roving deputy (*musahḫiru*) as the temple's man in Babylon. The temple's question represented him as an agent on whom the temple depended for information from the satrap, while Gimillu by his own answer dissociated himself from the satrap and declined to convey the information required.

These discordant points of view were not mere conversational misunderstandings. The text that expresses them is the record of a legal proceeding, heard before men who oversaw the king's financial interests in the temple.<sup>6</sup> Its existence implies that something had gone wrong that required a formal expla-

<sup>5</sup> In favor of the translation of *širku* as "temple slave," or, to indicate reservations, "temple 'slave'" (rather than the conventional "oblate") see Jursa 1995: 3 with n. 18.

<sup>6</sup> *ina ušuzzu ša PN ša rēš šarri ša muḫḫi bitāni PN<sub>2</sub> ša rēš šarri ša muḫḫi quppu ša šarri*, "in the presence of PN, the royal official in charge of the inner quarters, and PN<sub>2</sub>, the royal official in charge of the royal cash-box" (lines 18f.).

nation. There was a discrepancy between the requirements of the satrap (*tēme ša Gūbaru*) and the records of the temple (*lē<sup>2</sup>u ša Ištar-Uruk*). The text assigns responsibility for the discrepancy to Gimillu. It creates a basis for directing any untoward consequences at Gimillu, and it certainly reflects antipathy toward Gimillu. But in doing so, it reveals Gimillu's ability to limit communication between Uruk and Babylon to his own advantage.

This was consistent with Gimillu's behavior in some of his later difficulties with the administrators of Eanna, but it was not something unique to the circumstances and career of this extraordinary man. Another well-known letter from the Eanna archive also refers to a survey of workers, a discrepancy in the results, and the opportunity for a member of the temple administration to use the discrepancy and the conflicting interests of Uruk and Babylon, the temple and the satrap.<sup>7</sup> The writer of the letter, named Anu-šar-ušur, first tells the senior administrators of Eanna (lines 6-22):

*PN ... rēšu šābija akanna inaššu ameštu akanna ki ukallimuš šābū u-šu-uz-zu-a-a-  
ū-tu ina libbi ul imur alla 121 šābī sitti mitūtu ḫalqūtu u abkūtu PN iqabbi umma  
ana Gūbaru ana muḫḫi ašappar aqtabāššu umma adi tēme ša qipā<ni> ašemṁū  
mimma ana muḫḫi la taqabbi*

"PN is checking on my workforce here. When I showed him the inspection record he saw no more than 121 active workers<sup>8</sup> there; the rest are (recorded as) dead, fugitive, or taken away. PN says 'I will send word about this to Gobryas.' But I have said to him, 'No, do not say anything about it until I get instructions from the (other?) Residents.'"<sup>9</sup>

Then he makes this complaint about his under-strength workforce (lines 22-28):

*enna mamma ina šābī ša ina lē<sup>2</sup>i ša Nabū-kudurru-ušur u Nergal-šar-ušur ana  
muḫḫija šaṭṭar mamma ina libbi ana mamma la tanaddinā<sup>7</sup> adi anāku ašallimu*

<sup>7</sup> Millard & Jursa, 1997/98: 164, completing Scheil 1914: 167.

<sup>8</sup> Literally, "he saw no active workers there except 121 workers," interpreting *u-šu-uz-zu-a-a-ū-tu* as a masculine plural of the adjective *ušuzzāju* (otherwise found only modifying bow-lands in later Achaemenid texts, often in contrasting parallelism with *pa<sup>2</sup>išu*, "erased," vacant,<sup>7</sup> see Stolper 2001: 98), parallel to the forms *mitūtu*, *ḫalqūtu*, *abkūtu* — all presumably indicating rubrics in the inspection record. Less likely, a parenthetic phrase *šābū ušuzzū*, "the men are registered (there)" followed by *ajūtu ul imur*, "he did not see any" (so CAD A/1 236b s.v. *ajū* 2a).

<sup>9</sup> Millard's copy (Millard & Jursa 1997/98: 164) shows *qi-i-pa* (or: *-pi<sup>2</sup>*); Scheil (1914: 167f.) copied and transliterated *qi-i-pa-ni<sup>1</sup>*.

"Now you must give to no-one else any of the men who are entered as under my responsibility in the list from the time of Nebuchadnezzar and Neriglissar before I myself am given satisfaction (i.e., until the detachments under my control are brought up to the strength entered in the lists)."

And he continues with this remarkable threat (lines 29-34):

*amur rab-ḥanšē ina pānikunu šābī mītūtu abkūtu u ḥalqūtu šullimšunūtu jānū ana Gūbaru ana muḥḥi luḡbima ameštu tananmir*

"Look here, (my) squad leaders are with you. Supply them with replacements for the workers who are dead, fugitive, or taken away (by others), or else I will tell Gobryas about it so that an inspection is made"

The letter was written in the last year of Cyrus, in about 530 BC, not long after the other texts that mention inspections ordered by Gobryas. It may refer to the same events, and it must refer to the same general conditions.<sup>10</sup> The writer of the letter, Anu-šar-ušur, was himself one of the upper rank of administrators of the temple, a *qīpu*, "Resident."<sup>11</sup> The post that he held was normally filled by the king, not by the temple administration itself, and the Resident was responsible to the government in Babylon.<sup>12</sup> For purposes of an internal competition for scarce workers, however, this Resident based his claims not on his authority as the king's representative in the temple administration, but on the temple's own records.

Yet the records that Anu-šar-ušur cites were ten to thirty years old, rolls compiled before the Persian conquest, in the reigns of the Neo-Babylonian kings. When Anu-šar-ušur spoke of workers written down in the rosters as under his responsibility, it is not possible that he was referring to thirty-year old

<sup>10</sup> Inspections at other temples during the same time may also have been done on the satrap's orders. An administrative summary of an inspection record from the archives of the Ebabbar temple in Sippar deals with just the same things, as the heading indicates: *šābū ḥalqūtu u mītūtu ša ina amirtu ša qīpi la a-mar*, "missing and dead personnel who were not found in the *qīpu*'s inspection" Cyr. 292: 1-3 (8/1/8 Cyrus). The number of missing and dead men is only 11. To be sure, similar inspections were also routine events: see Bongenaar 1997: 40-41.

<sup>11</sup> Not the governor of Uruk (so Dandamayev 1992: 76); an Anu-šar-ušur was *šakin tēmi*, "governor," of Uruk only in the reign of Amēl-Marduk. For the date of the letter and the identity of the writer, see San Nicolò 1941: 45; Kümmel 1979: 52.

<sup>12</sup> See San Nicolò 1941: 13-15; Kümmel 1979: 138, 140f.; Bongenaar 1997: 34-55.

entries of the names of individual workers or even of his own name. He referred to running lists kept on wax-surfaced writing boards (*lē<sup>2</sup>u*), in which entries were erased and updated.<sup>13</sup> A later letter about comparable concerns describes the format and contents of such lists (YOS 3 81: 12-15, see appendix below):

"My lords should consult the lists (*lē<sup>2</sup>ē*). What (is entered there) as rations on the current account (*makkāru*)? What I have received accordingly? And (what is) the balance (*rēḫtu*) of the rations on the current account?"

The starting point of these rosters was an overall administrative arrangement made long before Anu-šar-ušur's tenure as Resident, in the reigns of the Neo-Babylonian kings; later workers and supervisors were entered into the rosters and fitted into the overall scheme.<sup>14</sup>

These arrangements and the current entries were no longer realistic, as the satrap surely knew, since he had ordered inspections. The Resident offered to withhold some of the discrepancies from the satrap. Instead, he used the possibility of reporting to the satrap – that is, doing what his position as Resident called for – as a threat.

It is possible to interpret this as an act of forbearance: the Resident was giving the administrators some time to correct a problem that might incur some punishment from the satrap. It is also possible to interpret it as an act of competition: the Resident was using the possibility of the satrap's intervention to advance his own position within the temple. In either case, the channel of communication to the satrap was at least potentially blocked by purely local concerns.

This situation and the persistent administrative tension to which it gave rise can also be found in another group of letters from the Eanna archive, written in the later years of Gobryas's term as satrap. Among them is an

<sup>13</sup> See San Nicolò 1948: 59-70; MacGinnis 2002: 217-236, especially 221 (on the advantages of wax-surfaced boards over clay tablets for maintaining rosters of workmen, and on rosters of temple slaves at Sippar, like those at Uruk) and 225 (on references to investigations calling for detailed scrutiny of writing boards). Legal and administrative texts from Sippar, unlike letters to and from Uruk, apparently do not characterize such rosters by naming past rulers under whom the rosters were set up (with the possible exception of *Iraq* 64 229, 236, no. 5, mentioning to a roster on a *lē<sup>2</sup>u* <sup>md</sup>U.GUR-LUGAL-[URU<sup>2</sup>], perhaps Neriglissar).

<sup>14</sup> But this and other references to *lē<sup>2</sup>us* up to thirty years old (below), might also imply records transcribed from original waxed boards to permanent summaries on clay.



MM 405 obv.

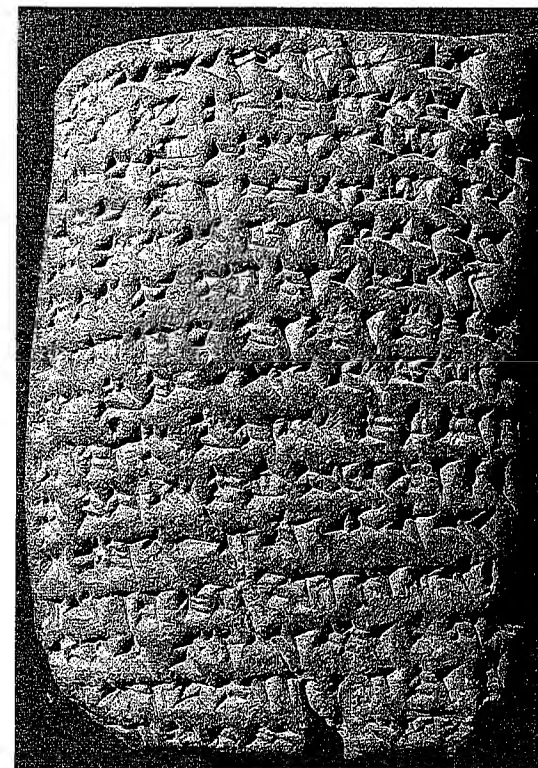
unpublished tablet from the collection at the Museu Bíblic of the monastery of Montserrat (Barcelona), MM 504, an edition of which follows.<sup>15</sup>

#### Transliteration

(1) [IM] <sup>md</sup><sub>1</sub> In-nin-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU (2) [a-na] <sup>m</sup>Na-din AD-iá <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG (3) šu-lum u DIN  
šá AD-iá liq-bu-u (4) man-ma šá fè-e-mu šá PAD.ĪIA-a (5) ħar-šu al-la-nu-uk-ka

<sup>15</sup> Made known to me by an autographed copy that Miguel Civil made in 1955, and by recent photographs, also made by Civil. On the Montserrat collection in general, see *Tabulae Monserratinae, Estudios de catalogación del Museo de Montserrat (Barcelona) dedicados al Padre Guu Camps con ocasion de su 80 aniversario = Aula Orientalis* 15 (1997).

MM 405 rev.



(6) ia-a-nu GIŠ.DA-ka la-bi-ri (7) pe-ti-i EN li-mu-ur (8) PAD.ĪIA-a [EN lu]-še-bi-la  
(9) šá-ṭa-ru šá tu-<še>-bi-la a-ta-mar (10) IGI-ia ma-ḫi-ir a-di LÚ šī-ra-ku (11) šá  
<sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG u <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>m</sup>Gu-bar-ru (12) ul-te-mi-du-<sup>2</sup> a-ki-i (13) GIŠ.DA šá <sup>md</sup>AG-  
NÍG.DU-URÜ (14) PAD.ĪIA-su-<nu> na-da-na ta-áš-ŠI-tu (15) <sup>r</sup>ši-pir<sup>1</sup>-ti a-na muḫ-ḫi  
(16) [man-ma ma-l]a KUR.MEŠ a-na (17) [muḫ-ḫi] <sup>r</sup>SUM-na-at<sup>1</sup>  
(Lo.Ed.) [a few lines missing]  
(Rev. 1') it-ti PAD.ĪIA-iá EN (2') li-it-pi-i lu-še-bi-la (3') mi-nu-ú ina UNUG.KI  
tad-di-nu (4') mi-nu-ú a-kan-na tad-di-nu (5') EN li-mu-ur <sup>m</sup>Gu-bar-ru (6') i-qab-bi  
um-ma mi-na-a (7') dul-lu-ku-nu ma-ad LÚ.GAL 50.MEŠ (8') ú LÚ.GAL 10-ti.MEŠ iq-  
ta-bu-ni-iš (9') um-ma 40 LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-i-ni ab-ku-<sup>2</sup> (10') 50 LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-i-ni al-la  
NINDA.ĪIA (11') BE-tu-<sup>2</sup> a-di šī-pir-ti (12') a-na <sup>m</sup>Pa-ra-nak-ku a-na (13') muḫ-ḫi  
SUM.NA-at LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ (14') [šá] <sup>md</sup>A-nu-DU-[A<sup>?</sup>] <sup>r</sup>ib<sup>1</sup>-ba-ku (15') [x] x KUR ME i [x]  
x iq-x [...] (16') [x x] li<sup>7</sup>-id-a[a<sup>?</sup>-n]i<sup>?</sup>-im [(x)] (17') [x x ni<sup>?</sup>]-i[d]-da-áš-šú-nu-tu





man found more as chief administrator in the Persepolis Fortification archive as much as thirty years later, 497 BC. The *Pa-ár-na-ak-ku* mentioned in the fragment BM 16996 (undated, perhaps from Nippur) may be the same man mentioned in MM 504; the surviving text concerns litigation, perhaps a case argued before Pharnaces (Zadok 1997/98: 297, 301; collated).

The recipient of this letter, Nādin, addressed respectfully as “my father,” was a member of the upper temple administration, one of the “scribes of Eanna” (*tupšarrû Eanna*). He was a veteran of more than thirty years’ service under the Neo-Babylonian and early Achaemenid kings.<sup>16</sup> The writer of the letter, Innin-ahhê-iddin, is the author of at least six other letters from the Eanna archive, including five addressed to Nādin, or to Nādin and others, in the reign of Cambyses or later (edited below). The concerns of these letters with supplies for temple slaves under his command make it nearly certain that he was the same man called a “chief of temple slaves” (*rab širkî*) in legal and administrative texts from the Eanna archive dated in the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses.<sup>17</sup> He too was a veteran of temple service, according to his own complaint: “for twenty years I have kept watch for all of you, and yet I am not worth as much to you as PN” (YOS 3 116: 6-12). When he wrote of “keeping watch,” his meaning was literal. As a “chief of temple slaves” he provisioned men at the fortifications of Babylon (*šābî ša dūr Bābili*, YOS 7 120: 6, 143: 8). He and the men under his control were also active in other areas of northern and north-eastern Babylonia along the Tigris: Akkad, Laḫīru,<sup>18</sup> and perhaps Tagritenna (see YOS 3 45, 81, and 106). He sent other letters to Uruk from Babylon, and he probably sent MM 504 from Babylon as well.

Not all of the contents of MM 504 are clear to me, but the specific concerns are connected with those of Innin-ahhê-iddin’s other letters. In YOS 3 81, Innin-ahhê-iddin wrote to Nādinu and others to say that his stocks of barley in Babylon were running low; he asked for silver to be sent to him to pay for work and rations, after records were consulted to determine the current balance available for him; and he referred for comparison to costs for work done in

<sup>16</sup> Nādin/Bēl-iqīša/Egibi, attested between the reigns of Neriglissar and Cambyses (556-524 BC), see Kümmel 1979: 116 nn. 55, 56, 118 n. 70, and 122 with earlier literature.

<sup>17</sup> YOS 7 40: 6 (14/1/4 Cyrus, administrative), 120: 7-8 (10/VIII/1 Cambyses, letter-order, see Ebeling 1934: no. 274), 143: 9 (IV-V/3 Cambyses, administrative), and probably 133: 4-5 (11/VI/2 Cambyses, legal); AnOr 8 71: 17 and 19 (14/XI/3 Cambyses, legal), and 79: 1 (30/III/7 Cambyses, legal).

<sup>18</sup> Evidence of Achaemenid texts for Babylonian workers and soldiers sent to Laḫīru is collected and interpreted by Dandamayev 1993.

earlier reigns at Akkad and Laḫīru. He referred explicitly to this letter again in YOS 3 45, a letter now addressed to the *šatammu* of Eanna, mentioning the earlier activities at Akkad and Laḫīru, his unanswered request for silver and his advice about exchanging dates for barley. In YOS 3 106, again addressed to Nādin, he was less explicit in citing earlier letters, but he again asked for the balance available to him to be checked in the records and released to him, he again referred to earlier payments at Akkad, and he anticipated scrutiny from Gobryas. MM 504, also anticipating attention and action from Gobryas and Pharnaces, acknowledges receipt of an answer from Nādin, and so it is apparently the last in this sequence of letters.

In these messages, Innin-ahhê-iddin asks for provisions to be sent to him after lists (*lêṣū*) from the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar, and Nabonidus have been consulted (YOS 3 45: 10f., 106: 19f.), or else in the same way as rations were issued “under” or “in the time of” (*ina pāni*) Neriglissar and Nabonidus (YOS 3 81: 27) or “in the time of” Cyrus (YOS 3 45: 15, 81: 31), and he even refers to practices of the immediate past, “in the time of” Cambyses (YOS 3 106: 34). Indeed, he insists that what is indicated in the Neo-Babylonian lists should take precedence over actual contemporary conditions:

“Why should I and my men perish or vanish on account of fraudulent procedure? Consult the lists of Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar and Nabonidus (and issue supplies accordingly).”

(YOS 3 106: 16-21).

“(I have set out from Babylon,) but now how can I go anywhere beyond? Šaḫ<ri>ina (a suburb of Babylon) if in the time of Cambyses you changed anything in the rations of temple slaves on the lists of Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar and Nabonidus.” (*ibid.* 32-37).

In MM 504, similarly, he asks for ration list(s) both “old and open” to be consulted, and says that pending action from the satrap a list from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar will be the basis for issuing supplies. He appears to contrast Gobryas’s anticipated orders with the temple’s own record, and he is plain in contrasting Gobryas’s needs (“how can your assignments be too much?”, 6’-7’) with what his own resources make possible (“forty men have been taken away and fifty are dead,” 9’-11’). Seen in this light, Innin-ahhê-iddin’s courteous reminder, “there is no-one who has exact information about my rations except for you; my lord should consult your list, old or current” (4-7) implies a threat similar to his sharper statement in his previous letter:

"Šamaš must know that when Gobryas arrives I will speak about no-one in all the world except about you, (saying) that you have the lists and you know about my rations."

(YOS 3 106: 7-10).

The situation to which these documents refer is consistent. In the reigns of Cyrus and Cambyses, temple officers in charge of some hundreds of men at a time complained that their contingents were below strength and were inadequately supplied. The contingents were below strength in the real sense that there were not enough men to comply with the satrap's assignments. They were also below strength in an administrative sense, being below the nominal strength recorded in lists compiled under the Neo-Babylonian kings. The lists were old and no longer accurate. Some men entered in them were gone and not replaced. Inspections were done to correct the rosters of workers. Individual names must have been corrected constantly, but the overall structure of the lists – above all, the strengths of units – had not been updated. Hence the temple personnel refer to formal records on writing boards (*lê<sup>2</sup>ū*) from the pre-Achaemenid reigns but they refer to practices "in the time of" (*ina pāni*) Cyrus or Cambyses only insofar as they correspond to or depart from the older lists. They do not, however, refer to new rosters compiled after inspections carried out under the first Achaemenids. On the contrary, references to inspections ordered by Gobryas are concerned with concealing or manipulating discrepancies.

This manipulation is not to be understood as a political reaction to the Persian conquest, a "résistance des clercs." The conditions in which it occurred and the people involved were in place well before Cyrus reached Babylon. Indeed, it seems likely that in many or even most of the complex administrative systems of Mesopotamia the keepers of the archives were overmatched by the data, and the process of compiling global records of current assets lagged behind the incoming records of day-to-day or seasonal transactions. This would be especially true of movable assets, livestock and workers. Decision-makers must have been accustomed to operating with large volumes of inaccurate information. They may have been infuriated or frustrated by the ease with which records could be concealed or manipulated, but they were probably not surprised. The managers of Eanna might have viewed appeals to the records from the good old days of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus with weary annoyance. We can recognize in their letters more or less frustrated individuals operating in the middle levels of a system of production and control as they struggled with each other to gain some advantage within the system.

There remains to be considered a further tantalizing possibility that beyond this general, systematic tension, letters of Innin-aḥḥē-iddin actually reflect specific, critical conditions. In an earlier letter to Nādin, he refers to the possi-

bility of changes in the time of Cambyses (YOS 3 106: 34ff.). As San Nicolò remarked, this reference is notable for what is omitted. It is a departure from the ordinary style of Neo-Babylonian letters and legal texts to refer to a reigning king by name alone, not as "the King," or at least as "Cambyses the King." San Nicolò therefore raised the possibility that the mention of Cambyses in YOS 3 106 has the same implication that the names of Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar, or Cyrus have in this and other texts, namely, that Cambyses was no longer the reigning king.<sup>19</sup>

In that case, since the letter invokes the authority of Gobryas, it was written at some time between the end of the reign of Cambyses and the appointment of Gobryas's successor as satrap, Uštānu, in the first year of Darius I, that is, between April, 522 and March, 521 BC. And if that is so, YOS 3 45 and 81 and MM 504 must have been written around the same time. That is, Innin-aḥḥē-iddin wrote at least these four letters during the imperial crisis at the end of the reign of Cambyses, the period when Bardiya, Nebuchadnezzar III (Nidintu-Bēl), Darius I, and Nebuchadnezzar IV (Araḥa) claimed the Babylonian throne in succession.

Innin-aḥḥē-iddin's references to the authority of Gobryas mean that he was loyal to the Persian provincial administration, or at least expected it to continue in power, and he presumed that the recipients of his letters in Uruk had the same expectation. That expectation weighs against assigning the letters to the time of Nebuchadnezzar IV, who was recognized as king in Uruk, as Uruk texts dated by his accession year imply. Hence, if these letters were written during the succession crisis at all, it was during the phases of the crisis that preceded the rising of Nebuchadnezzar IV, in the last half of 522 BC. That would be consistent with Innin-aḥḥē-iddin's concern about supplies for the coming winter and his expectation of rising prices, expressed in YOS 3 45.

In that case, it is inviting to speculate further that Innin-aḥḥē-iddin's allusion to Gobryas's absence and the expectation of his return ("when Gobryas arrives," YOS 3 106: 7), and the mention of Innin-aḥḥē-iddin's own departure from Babylon (*ana ašūtu attaši*, perhaps even "a sortie," *ibid.* 31) indicate participation in the events. These phrases might refer to the time when Nebuchadnezzar III was in control at Babylon or facing Darius's advancing forces (DB §§18-19). Innin-aḥḥē-iddin's references to movements of supplies along the Tigris north of Babylon would be pertinent to the area of conflict between

<sup>19</sup> San Nicolò 1941: 58f.; cf. Dandamayev 1992: 78.

Darius and Nebuchadnezzar III.<sup>20</sup> And this invites the further speculation that Innin-ahhē-iddin refers to later events when he says in another letter "we went safely" with the King as far as the river-crossing and we came back" (BIN 1 29: 8-12), perhaps reporting that he and his garrison troops escorted Darius when he moved his command-post from Babylon to Media in the winter of 522/21 (DB §31).

If these surmises are so, then Innin-ahhē-iddin's letters reflect a combination of devotion to duty, exasperation in dealing with his superiors, and coolness in the face of the most stirring political upheavals. But they are no more than surmises. They rest on a fragile textual foundation, a single apparent lapse of courtesy.<sup>21</sup> San Nicolò's reluctance to insist on any historical or chronological conclusions remains appropriate.

*Appendix: letters of Innin-ahhē-iddin*

BIN 1 16

(1) IM<sup>md</sup> INNIN.NA-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU<sup>(2)</sup> a-na<sup>m</sup> Na-din<sup>m</sup> Ki-na-a<sup>(3)</sup> mDIN u<sup>m</sup> Mu-ra-nu<sup>(4)</sup> AD.MEŠ-e-a<sup>d</sup> EN u<sup>d</sup> AG<sup>(5)</sup> šu-lum u<sup>d</sup> DIN šá AD.MEŠ-e-a <liq-bu-ú><sup>(6)</sup> a-mur<sup>m</sup> NUMUN-ia a-na<sup>(7)</sup> AD.MEŠ-e-a al-tap-ra<sup>(8)</sup> SÍG.ĪLA MUN.ĪLA saḫ-le-e<sup>(9)</sup> u<sup>i</sup> Ī.GIŠ šá LÚ um-man-nu<sup>(10)</sup> in-na-ni-iš-šú<sup>(11)</sup> kap-du KASKAL<sup>II</sup> a-na<sup>(12)</sup> GÌR<sup>II</sup> šú šu-kun-na-<sup>3</sup> (13) nu-bat-ti [Ī]a i-<sup>r</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-a-ta<sup>(14)</sup> SÍG.ĪLA MUN.ĪLA<sup>(15)</sup> saḫ-le-e (Lo.Ed. 16) u<sup>i</sup> Ī.GIŠ (Rev. 17) šá LÚ mu-saḫ-ḫi-[ri]<sup>(18)</sup> šá<sup>md</sup> KUR.GAL-LUGAL<sup>19</sup> URU<sup>17</sup> (19) u<sup>m</sup> šá-lam-DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>(20)</sup> it-ti-i<sup>(21)</sup> a-na<sup>m</sup> NUMUN-ia<sup>(22)</sup> in-na-<sup>3</sup>

(1-5) Letter of Innin-ahhē-iddin to Nādin, Kīnā, Balātu and Murānu, my fathers. May the gods Bēl and Nabū <decree> well-being and health for my fathers.

(6-13) Look, I have sent Zērija to (you,) my fathers. Give him a craftsman's (allowance of) wool, salt, cress-seed and sesame, (and) send him on his way at once.

<sup>20</sup> In YOS 3 106 flour, shoes, and leather bags are susceptible to interpretation as supplies issued to men travelling to military or labor service, e.g. Durand & Joannès 1988: "soldats en poste au bord du fleuve (= Tigris), à Takrit et à Agadé."

<sup>21</sup> And the lapse may be only apparent. This nuance of *ina pāni*, "under," with both a temporal nuance, "in the time of," and a nuance of authority, "before, answerable to," may be a stylistic idiosyncrasy of Innin-ahhē-iddin; it would be difficult for him to convey the same sense by saying only "now," or referring only to "the King." Compare Hueter 1996: 79.

He should not delay at all. (14-22) In addition, give Zērija the deputy-at-larges' (allowances of) wool, salt, cress-seed and sesame for Amurru-šar-ušur and Šalam-ilī.

Ebeling 1934: 170f., no. 216.

2f. Nādinu, Kīnā, Balātu and Murānu *tušarrū Eanna*: see Kümmel 1979: 116 nn. 55, 56; 118 n. 70.

11f. Here and in YOS 3 45: 37f., literal, rather than "give them every possible assistance," "expedite their business" (see Kienast 1988: 6-9).

18 So Kümmel 1979: 137 n. 203 (copy <sup>md</sup>KUR.GAL-AMA-x). Šalām-ilī and Amurru-šar-ušur, royal *sepīrus* (reign of Cambyses): see San Nicolò 1954: 369; Kümmel 1979: 136f.

BIN 1 29

(1) IM<sup>md</sup> In-nin-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-[M]U<sup>(2)</sup> a-na<sup>m</sup> Na-di-nu AD-ia<sup>(3)</sup> d<sup>d</sup> EN d<sup>d</sup> AG d<sup>d</sup> GAŠAN šá UNUG.KI<sup>(4)</sup> u<sup>d</sup> Na-na-a šu-lum u<sup>d</sup> DIN<sup>(5)</sup> šá AD-ia liq-bu-ú<sup>(6)</sup> ina GIŠ.MI šá DINGIR.ME<sup>i</sup> šu-lum<sup>(7)</sup> a-ni-ni šu-lum a-[na]<sup>(8)</sup> mSUM.NA-a ina šu-[lum]<sup>(9)</sup> it-ti LUGAL a-di<sup>(10)</sup> muḫ-ḫi ID ni-bir-šú<sup>(11)</sup> ni-it-tal-lak u<sup>(12)</sup> ni-iḫ(text it)-ḫi-is (Lo.Ed. 13) a-mur x [...] (Rev. 14) <sup>r</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-im-ma<sup>2</sup> ŠE.BAR<sup>(15)</sup> ina É ia-a-nu<sup>(16)</sup> 5 GUR ŠE.BAR a-na<sup>(17)</sup> É AD-ú-a lu-še-bi-l[u]

(1-5) Letter of Innin-ahhē-iddin to Nādinu, my father. May the gods Bēl, Nabū, the Lady of Uruk and Nanā decree well-being and health for my father.

(6-8) By the protection of the gods we are well. Iddinā is well. (8-12) In safety we went with the king as far as the river-crossing and came back. (13-17) (But) look [here, now,] there is no barley in (my) house. Five gur of barley should be sent to my family.

Ebeling 1934: 182f, no. 229.

YOS 3 45

(1) IM<sup>md</sup> INNIN.NA-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU<sup>(2)</sup> a-na LÚ.ŠA.TAM EN-ia<sup>(3)</sup> u<sup>4</sup>-mu-su<sup>d</sup> EN u<sup>d</sup> AG<sup>(4)</sup> d<sup>d</sup> GAŠAN UNUG.KI u<sup>d</sup> Na-na-a<sup>(5)</sup> a-na DIN ZI.MEŠ a-ra-ku u<sup>4</sup>-mu<sup>(6)</sup> tu-ub lib-bi u<sup>i</sup> tu-ub UZU<sup>(7)</sup> šá EN-ia u-šal-la<sup>(8)</sup> a-di la-i al-la-ka<sup>(9)</sup> uz-nu šá EN-ia a-na UGU<sup>(10)</sup> PAD.ĪLA ap-te-ti GIŠ le-e<sup>(11)</sup> šá<sup>md</sup> U.GUR-LUGAL-URU u<sup>md</sup> AG-I<sup>(12)</sup> EN li-mu-ur ak-ka-<sup>2</sup>-i<sup>(13)</sup> gi-mir šá ŠE.BAR u<sup>i</sup> qé-me<sup>(14)</sup> a-na URU Ak-ka-du TAR-ru-ub<sup>(15)</sup> u<sup>i</sup> šá ina pa-ni<sup>m</sup> Ku-ra-āš<sup>(16)</sup> a-na-ku a-na LÚ.ERIN.MEŠ (Lo.Ed. 17) šá URU La-ḫe-e-ri<sup>(18)</sup> tad-din-an-ni lib-bu-ú-šú (Rev. 19) gi-mir EN li-pu-uš<sup>(20)</sup> ana UGU PAD.ĪLA a<sup>4</sup>

(21) *la ta-še-el-lu a-di la-i* (22) ŠE.BAR *ta-maṭ-tu-ú* 1 LIM GUR (23) ZÚ.LUM.MA EN-  
*a lu-še-bi-EL-MU* (24) *a-na* ŠE.BAR *luḍ-din* PAD.ĪA *a-na ku-šu* (25) *lu-ṭi-ir*  
 PAD.ĪA *la ta-maṭ-an-ni* (26) KÙ.BABBAR *a<sub>4</sub> 5 MA.NA šá [dul]-lu* (27) *šá a-na EN-*  
*ia áš-pu-ru 5 MA.NA* (28) KÙ.BABBAR *pe-šu-ú ina* ŠU<sup>II</sup> md UTU-KAL (29) *u* md Na-na-  
*a-M[U<sup>?</sup>EN-a] lu-še-bi-EL-MU* (30) *a-na* ŠE.BAR [*luḍ-din*] 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR (31)  
*at-ta ul [ ... ] x i-ši* (32) *a-ki 3 4 GIŠ.‘MÁ‘.MEŠ PAP TA.ĀM* (33) 1 LÚ.MA.LAḤ<sub>4</sub> *šu-*  
*pur-am-mu 1 GIŠ.MÁ* (34) *šá pa-ni-šu ma-ḥar lu-up-ḥe-e-ma* (35) *luḍ-das-šu* m MU-  
 DU *u* m Ni-din-tum (36) *ina pa-ni EN-ia la i-ku-uš-‘šú<sup>1</sup>’* (Up.Ed. 37) *kap-du KASKAL* II  
*a-na GIR<sup>II</sup> šú-nu* (38) *šu-lan* (Left Ed. 39) *ina<sup>?</sup> te-iq-ti la i-šak-<ka>-nu-<sup>2</sup>* LÚ.DUMU  
*šip-ri* (40) *šá LUGAL ana muḥ-ḥi dul-lu*

(1-7) Letter of Innin-aḥḥē-iddin to the *šatammu*, my lord. Daily I pray to the gods Bēl, Nabū, the Lady of Uruk, and Nanā for my lord's health, life, long days, happiness of heart and body.

(8-19) Before I come I will have<sup>?</sup> given my lord an explanation about the rations. My lord should examine the lists of Neriglissar and Nabonidus (to see) how much was delivered<sup>?</sup> to Akkad (as) expenses for (transportation of) barley and flour, but also (consider how much was) what you gave in the time of Cyrus to me, myself, for the workers at Laḥēri. My lord should arrange for expenses (i.e., for moving supplies now) in just the same way.

(20-25) Do not be negligent about those food supplies. Before barley becomes scarce, my lord should send<sup>?</sup> 1,000 gur of dates so that I can exchange them for barley, and I can set aside rations for the winter. My food supplies must not become insufficient here.

(26-31) Concerning those 5 minas of silver for the [work] about which I sent a message to my lord, (to the effect that) [my lord] should send<sup>?</sup> five minas of white silver with Šamaš-aqar and Nanā-iddin,<sup>?</sup> [so that I can exchange it] for barley, you, for your part, did not [send<sup>?</sup>] even one mina of silver. ...

(32-35) How<sup>?</sup> can 3 or 4 boats be all (that is available)? Send me (just) one boatman, so that I can prepare (lit. caulk) a boat that suits him and turn it over to him.

(35-38) Šum-ukin and Nidintu must not stay long with my lord. Send them on their way at once. They should not put the royal messenger concerned with the work into a difficult position.<sup>?</sup>

Ebeling 1934: 40f., no. 45. Summary by Dandamayev 1993: 120.

8; 21 *la-i* (for *la-<sup>2</sup>*), cf. YOS 3 81: 26.

12ff. Cf. YOS 3 81: 27ff. and 106: 21ff.

14 CAD A 1 273 *qurrub* (without translation), apparently after Ebeling 1934: 40, *kur(!)-ru-ub*. Compare *ana* GN *izbilū* YOS 3 81: 30, in parallel context.

21f. Cf. YOS 3 81: 26.

23; 29 Ebeling 1934: 40f., suggests *lušēbil*-MU with -MU as a Sumerogram for first-person singular pronominal suffix (hence *lušēbilanni*, for expected *lišēbilanni*); or else to express a syllable-boundary in a form *lušēbil<sup>2</sup>u*. But -mu for -ma after ventive elsewhere in Innin-aḥḥē-iddin's letters (*šu-pur-am-mu* below, line 33; *lu-še-lu-ni-i-mu*, *liš-šu-ni-im-mu*, YOS 3 81: 21, 24) suggests that *lušēbilammu* is intended here.

26-28 Cf. YOS 3 81: 9-11.

28 Šamaš-aqar: see YOS 3 81: 10.

29 Nanā-iddin: see YOS 3 116: 21.

39 But in all other occurrences *tē<sup>2</sup>iqtu šakānu* is construed without preposition. Perhaps rather *te<sup>1</sup>-iq-tu la i-šak-<ka>-nu-<sup>2</sup>*, "they must not cause trouble, (there is a royal messenger ...)."

# YOS 3 81

(1) IM md INNIN.NA.ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU (2) *a-na* m Na-di-nu m ARAD-ia (3) m Lib-luṭ  
*u* m Su-qa-a-a (4) AD.MEŠ-e-a d EN u d AG šu-lum (5) u DIN šá AD.MEŠ-e-a liq-  
*bu-ú* (6) *at-tu-nu ti-da-a<sub>4</sub> šá* ŠE.BAR *a<sub>4</sub>* (7) *šá ina* DIN.TIR.KI ŠE.BAR *ma-at-*  
*ta* (8) *ina lib-bi a-na te-lit te-lu-ú* (9) 5 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR *pe-šu-ú ina*  
 KÙ.BABBAR *šá dul-lu* (10) *ina* ŠU<sup>II</sup> md UTU-KAL [*šu*]-bi-la-ni-im-mu (11) *a-na*  
*dul-lu u* PAD.ĪA *li-in-na-din* (12) GIŠ *le-e* EN.MEŠ *li-mu-[ru]-ú-ma* (13) *mi-*  
*nu-ú ki-i* PAD.ĪA *ina* NÍG.GA<sup>1</sup> (14) *u* *mi-nu-ú ki-i lib-bi maḥ-ra-ka* (15) *re-*  
*ḥe-et* PAD.ĪA *sá ina* NÍG.GA (16) ŠE.BAR *a-kan-na ina* UGU ZÚ.LUM.MA  
 (17) *i-ba-áš-šú 1 GUR 1 (PI) 4 (BÁN)* (Lo.Ed. 18) ZÚ.LUM.MA *a-na 1 GUR*  
 ŠE.BAR (19) 40 GUR ŠE.BAR *a-na 1 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR* (20) *pe-šu-ú 2*  
 LÚ.DUMU.DÜ.MEŠ (Rev. 21) ZÚ.LUM.MA *lu-še-lu-ni-i-mu* (22) *a-na* ŠE.BAR  
*ina* UD.KIB.NUN.KI *liḍ-din-<sup>2</sup>* (23) *ia-a-nu-ú 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR* (24) *pe-*  
*šu-ú liš-šu-ni-im-mu* (25) *a-kan-na a-na* ŠE.BAR *liḍ-din-<sup>2</sup>* (26) *a-di la-i*  
 ŠE.BAR *ta-maṭ-tu-ú* (27) *u* *gi-mir lib-bu-ú šá ina pa-ni* (28) md U.GUR.LUGAL-  
 URÚ *u* md AG-I (29) *šá qé-me u* ŠE.BAR *a-na URU A-ga-dē<sup>KI</sup>* (30) *iz-bi-lu-<sup>2</sup> a-*  
*mur u šá a-na-ku* (31) *ina pa-ni* m Ku-ra-áš *a-na* LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ (32) *šá URU*  
*La-ḥe-e-ri tad-di-nu a-ki-<sup>2</sup>* (33) *lib-bu-šú* PAD.ĪA *šu-bi-la-a-ni*

(1-5) Letter of Innin-aḥḥē-iddin to Nādinu, Ardija, Libluṭu and Sūqaja, my fathers. May the gods Bēl and Nabū decree well-being and health for my fathers.

(6-11) You know about the barley that is in Babylon, that much of the barley has been expended. Send me, by way of Šamaš-aqar, 5 minas of white silver out of the silver (allocated) for work, so that it can be paid for work and rations.

(12-15) My lords should consult the lists. What (is entered there) as rations on the current account? What have I received accordingly? And (what is) the balance of the rations on the current account?

(16-26) There is barley available here (in exchange) for<sup>7</sup> dates, 1 1/3 gur of dates for 1 gur of barley, 40 gur of barley for 1 mina of white silver. Two gentlemen should bring dates up this way and exchange them for barley in Sippar. If not, they should bring 10 minas of white silver here and pay them for barley before barley becomes scarce.

(27-33) Also, look up (singular) the transport costs, how they hauled barley and flour to Akkad in the time of Neriglissar, and Nabonidus, and also what you (singular) gave me for the workers of Laḫīru in the time of Cyrus. Send (plural) me my rations exactly in accordance with that.

Ebeling 1934: 68ff., no. 81. Summarized by Dandamayev 1993: 120f.

9-11 See YOS 3 45: 26-28, above.

20 "Two gentlemen," i.e., members of the Eanna's administration with authority to spend the silver, perhaps implying a contrast with *širku*.

26-30 For a somewhat different interpretation, see Durand & Joannès 1988 (but *uṭṭetu tamaṭṭū* cannot mean "the price of barley drops," but the "the [amount of] barley [equivalent to a shekel of silver] drops," i.e., "the price of barley increases").

# YOS 3 106

(1) [IM <sup>m</sup>INNIN.NA-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU a-na (2) [<sup>m</sup>Na-din A]D-ia <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>AG (3) <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN UNUG.KI u <sup>d</sup>Na-na-a (4) *šu-lum u DIN AD-ia liq-bu-ū* (5) 2-ta 3-<sup>r</sup>x-ti<sup>r</sup> ki-i āš-pur-rak-ka (6) *ṭē-en-ka ul āš-mu* <sup>d</sup>UTU lu-ū i-di (7) ki-i u<sub>4</sub>-mu <<sup>m</sup>Gū-bar-ru i-kaš-šā-da (8) a-na UGU man-ma-la KUR.MEŠ aq-ta-bu-ū (9) al-la ana UGU-ka šā at-ta GIŠ le-e (10) ina pa-ni-ka u PAD.ḪI.A-a ti-du-ū (11) GIŠ le-e ina pa-ni-ka NĪG.ŠID (12) šā PAD.ḪI-ia e-pu-uš i-<sup>r</sup>ME<sup>7</sup> (13) ki-i ina pa-ni-ka i-ba-āš-[š]u-ū (14) *šu-bi-lu ia-a-nu-ū re-[eḫ-ti]* <sup>m</sup>Ba-ni-ia (15) lu-uš-šu i-ME <sup>ē</sup>? <sup>m</sup>? A-<sup>r</sup>x x<sup>r</sup> id-di-i-nu (16) lu-ur-šū-ur mi-na-a<sub>4</sub> šā piš-la (17) a-na-ku u LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-ia (18) ni-ma-a-ta u ni-ḫe-el-liq (19) GIŠ le-e šā <sup>md</sup>AG-NĪG<sup>1</sup> (text: KU).DU-URU (20) <sup>md</sup>IGI.DU-LUGAL-URU u <sup>md</sup>AG-I (Lo.Ed. 21) a-mu-ur ak-ka-<sup>2</sup>-i (22) *qé-me u gi-mir* (Rev. 23) KUŠ<sup>1</sup> nu-u-ṭu u KUŠ.E<sup>1</sup>.SĪR (24) ana LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ šā ina muḫ-[ḫi] (25) ID šā Ta-ga-ri-te-en-na (26) u URU Ak-ka-du tad-din (27) lib-bu-šū gi-mir u PAD.ḪI.A mu-nu (28) en-na a-ga-a a-na-ku u LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-ia a<sub>4</sub> (29) 1 ME 80 ak-te-en-zi (30) 1-en-i-ši ul-tu DIN.TIR.KI (31) a-na a-ṣu-tu at-ta-ši (32) en-na a-ga-a ul-tu šā URU Šā-ḫi-<ri>-na (33) a-na e-ka-a-ni ki-i al-la-ka (34) ki-i mīm-mu ina pa-ni <sup>m</sup>Kām-bu-zi-ia (35) a-na GIŠ le-e šā <sup>md</sup>AG-

<NĪG>.DU-URU (36) <sup>md</sup>IGI.DU-LUGAL-URU u <sup>md</sup>AG-I (37) ina PAD.ḪI.A LÚ *šir-ki tu-šā-an-na-a* (38) *ṭē-en-ku-nu ana UGU lu-uš-mu*

(1-4) Letter of Innin-ahhē-iddin to [Nādin], my father. May the gods Bēl and Nabū, the Lady of Uruk and Nanā, decree well-being and health for my father.

(5-11) Although I wrote to you two or three times, I did not hear your instructions. I swear by Šamaš (literally, Šamaš knows) that when Gobryas arrives, I will speak about no-one else in the world except about you, that you have the lists in your possession and so you know about my rations.

(11-15) (With) the lists in your possession do a reckoning of my rations. If ... is available there with you, send it. Otherwise, let me take Banija's balance, (15-16) let me sell ... (16-18) Why should I and my men perish or be lost because of (some) impropriety?

(19-27) Look up the lists of Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar and Nabonidus. How much flour and expenses, leather bags and shoes did you give to the men who were on the Tagaritenna canal and at Akkad? Just so pay out expenses and rations.

(28-29) Now, I and those 180 men of mine – I have .... (30-37) (Only) once? have I struck out from Babylon. But now how can I go anywhere beyond? Šaḫrīna if in the time of Cambyses you changed anything in the rations of temple slaves on the lists of Nebuchadnezzar, Neriglissar and Nabonidus.

(38) Let me hear your (plural) instructions.

Ebeling 1934: 84-87, no. 106.

7-8 Cf. Streck 1995: 103; Hueter 1996: 117f.

12 Cf. Streck 1995: 91 n. 304, reading *i* ME, without translation, here and in line 15. Ebeling 1934: *i*-[š]i "hebe sie ab." Compare *nikassī itti aḫāmeš ittašū* UCP 9 64 no. 31:7, apparently a unique usage.

19-26 See Durand & Joannès 1988.

29 AHW 436 and CAD K 148 both s.v. *kanāzu* (Aram. lw.?), "put in storage."

30 Reading 1-en-i-ši for expected 1-en-šū = *iltiṣṣu*; cf. Streck 1995: 73 §70.

32 See Zadok 1985: 8, 284 s.v. *Šaḫrīnu*.

37 See San Nicolò 1941: 65 n. 3. (reading "da du geändert hast," i.e., interpreting the verb second person singular preterite, despite the final -ā, rather than subjunctive -ū). Similarly Ebeling 1934 ("da du alles ... verändert hast?"). Otherwise CAD Š 1 407 s.v. *šanū* v. B meaning 4d ("whether you will change any of the *širku*'s rations," i.e., interpreting the verb as present-future, hence second-person plural).

The letter is addressed to a single person, "my father," surely meaning Nādin, and the body of the letter uses second-person singular forms to refer to him (lines 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 21, 26 [despite CAD G 78 s.v. *gimru* meaning 3d, reading stative *tadin*], and 27), and a second-person singular subjunctive form, *tušannū*, would

seem appropriate in line 37. But in the next and last line, Innin-ahhē-iddin has changed to second-person plural address (*tēnkunu* [38]), surely referring to Nādin and the other "scribes of Eanna," and so allowing the verb in line 37 to be interpreted as a second-person plural, either present-future or preterite. Compare YOS 3 81: 27-31, with similar change from singular to plural.

## YOS 3 116

(1) IM<sup>md</sup> In-nin-ŠEŠ.MEŠ-MU (2) a-na<sup>m</sup> Na-di-nu AD-ia (3) md<sup>EN</sup> u d<sup>AG</sup> d<sup>GAŠAN</sup> šá UNUG.KI (4) u d<sup>Na-na-a</sup> šu-lum u DIN (5) šá AD-ia liq-bu-ú (6) 20-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ (7) ma-aš<sup>7</sup>-sar-tum (8) šá gab-bi-ku-nu (9) at-ta-sa-ar (10) ma-la md<sup>EN</sup>-ŠU-an-ni (11) ina pa-ni-ku-nu (12) ul ma-na-ku (Rev. 13) É-a ina qí-bi (14) šá md<sup>EN</sup>-ŠU-an-ni (15) id-di-ra-as (16) UN.MEŠ É-ia (17) ina É [ka]-li (18) 3 MÁŠ GAL (19) ina MÁŠ GAL-ia (20) ITI.BÁR MU.4.KÁM (21) a-na<sup>md</sup> Na-na-a-MU (22) u<sup>m</sup> MU-DÙ i-din (23) LÚ.ŠÁ.TAM (24) ha-ni-iq (25) it-ti-ia EN lu ú-še-ḫi-ḫu

(1-5) Letter of Innin-ahhē-iddin to Nādinu, my father. May Bēl and Nabū, the Lady of Uruk and Nanā decree well-being and health for my father.

(6-12) For twenty years I have kept watch for all of you. (But) I am not worth as much in your eyes as Bēl-gimilanni. (13-17) It is on the orders of Bēl-gimilanni that my house is being ruined, (and) the people of my household are in detention.

(18-22) Give 3 adult goats out of my goats for month I, year 4 (of Cambyse?), to Nanā-iddin and Šum-ibni.

(23-25) The *šatammu* is annoyed with me. My lord should ...

Ebeling 1934: 94f., no. 116.

- 10 Perhaps Bēl-gimilanni, son of Madānu-ēreš, in the reign of Cambyse a temple slave (*širku*), and in the reign of Darius an official "in charge of the (royal) cash-box of Eanna" (*ša muḫḫi quppi Eanna*), an adversary of and a successor to Gimillu as General Contractor: see Cocquerillat 1968: 103; Kümmel 1979: 104, 146.

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## DARIUS III, ALEXANDER THE GREAT AND BABYLONIAN SCHOLARSHIP\*

Robartus J. van der Spek – Amsterdam

*Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee (...)  
Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels.  
Let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators,  
stand up and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee.  
Prophecy over Babylon, Isaiah 47: 10, 13*

*And his (Alexander's) court was thronged with diviners and priests  
whose business was to sacrifice and purify and foretell the future.  
Plutarch, Alexander 75*

### *Introduction*

On 13 Elul of the fifth year of Darius III, king of Persia, king of the lands, i.e. on 20 September 331 BC, a lunar eclipse occurred in Mesopotamia one hour 10 minutes after sunset, while Saturn was present and Jupiter had set shortly before the eclipse was complete. There was a west wind during the totality of the eclipse; during its clearing the east wind blew.

\* Many people have helped me and thought with me. Christopher Walker and Irving Finkel, the keepers of the cuneiform collection of the British Museum, allowed me to collate the tablets edited in this article and to publish here an unpublished fragment concerning Alexander and Arabia, which Finkel had found in the collection and of which he gave me his transliteration. I discussed nearly every line of this article with Altertumswissenschaftler Jona Lendering ([www.livius.org](http://www.livius.org)), who gave me many valuable suggestions. Mathieu Ossendrijver provided me with astronomical information. Marten Stol saved me from a few errors in my translations of Akkadian. Amélie Kuhrt read the manuscript meticulously and made many useful suggestions; above all she tried to make my Nether-English readable. Irritatingly difficult texts, in particular Chronicle 8 and the end of the so-called *Dynastic Prophecy* led me to consult Paul-Alain Beaulieu, Pierre Briant, Giuseppe Del Monte, Mark Geller, W.F. Lambert and my colleague Jaap-Jan Flinterman. Although many problems remain unsolved, I profited enormously from these discussions. The main theses and the remaining errors, however, are my own responsibility.



For modern historians this is perhaps not an important event, worth mentioning, but for ancient man, and surely for the Babylonian historian, it was. I use the word 'historian' here with caution, because Babylonian historians in our meaning of the term did not exist, but there were people who made records of the past, and in this way they were 'historians.' The most impressive product of their scholarship is the so-called Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series, which started in the first year of Nabonassar (747 BC) and continued into the Parthian period (after 141 BC).<sup>1</sup> These chronicles are not examples of beautiful historical narrative; they are rather a database. Babylonian history writing was an exact science and part of the aggregate whole of Babylonian wisdom. The Babylonian scholars viewed the world as one complex whole, in which all phenomena were interconnected and influenced each other. Thus in the Babylonian worldview the configuration of the stars, the condition of the liver of a sacrificial animal, the direction of the wind, the birth of a monstrous creature, the level of the Euphrates, the prices of commodities, the death of kings and victories in war, were all interconnected. This means that if on one occasion in the past the moon was in eclipse, while Jupiter was absent, the west wind blowing and the king had died, the king of a later period should fear the same fate if the moon was in eclipse, Jupiter absent and the west wind blowing.

To study all these relationships was the principal preoccupation of Babylonian scholars. Based on these premises they undertook their task in a remarkably modern way. They made, patiently and conscientiously, endless databases. If they had had the computer, they would certainly have used it. And so they developed astronomy into a highly sophisticated science, exemplary for the ancient world and after. To that end they made a long series of astronomical observations, of which the published and datable exemplars date from 652 to 61 BC (AD I-III). They made computations about recurring stellar constellations and predictions about lunar and solar eclipses. Aristotle was so interested in their work that he asked his nephew Callisthenes to forward to him the Babylonian astronomical observations after Alexander had entered Babylon.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The chronicles are collected in ABC chron. 1-13b and translated into French with improvements and new fragments in Glassner 1993. The latest published chronicle dates from the reign of Seleucus III (226-223 BC), but the British Museum possesses an unpublished fragment of the Arsacid period. Irving Finkel and I are currently working on new editions of the late chronicles.

<sup>2</sup> Simplicius, *In Cael.* II.12 (ad Arist., *De Caelo* 293a4); see Heiberg (ed.) 1894: 506. Exact information on the historical solar and lunar eclipses is to be found in Meeus & Mücke 1979, Mücke & Meeus 1983, and at the NASA website (<http://sunearth.gsfc.nasa.gov/eclipse/eclipse.html>).

Within the framework of the astronomical diaries the Babylonian scholars recorded 'related' events: the weather, the level of the Euphrates, monstrous births, singular events (e.g., "that month, five dogs approached one bitch," AD I: 192-3, no. -207 A 'obv.' 17), damage to the temple, exploits of the king, battles, royal offerings, deaths of royal persons. They also made separate lists of historical events, which we designate chronicles, meticulously recorded facts for use in Babylonian divinatory science.

The most remarkable feature of the chronicles is their detached treatment of historical facts. It is not historiography in the sense that it gives a coherent narrative of history and searches for deeper causes; rather it presents facts about kings, their lengths of reign, their successes and defeats in battle, and facts about the city of Babylon, its temple and cult. The style is terse and is in every respect different from the royal inscriptions with their biased accounts *ad maiorem regis gloriam* (Grayson 1980: 173). The same detachment and factual treatment of history is found in the historical sections of the so-called astronomical diaries.

Last but not least, the Babylonians developed an extensive omen literature, long lists of stellar omens (the 70 tablets of the series *Enūma Anu Enlil*), liver omens, omens of singular events (*Šumma izbu*, *Šumma ālu*).<sup>3</sup>

A close relationship between these genres has often been suggested (Finkelstein 1963; Rochberg-Halton 1991: 330f.), and I think correctly so (*pace* Brinkman 1990: 95-97). It would go too far to assume that the diaries were the sole source of the chronicles, but the scribes of both genres used the same terminology. I assume that the same people wrote the chronicles, the diaries and the omens. 'History' was part of Babylonian wisdom.

Babylonian experts were always present at the courts of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings. In a world in which kings were never secure due to constant warfare, the continuous threat of uprisings, palace revolts and illnesses, they were eager to know the fate the gods had ordained and had written in the stars and the livers of sacrificial animals. Moreover, Babylonian scholars were not only able to foretell the future, but also to manipulate it. The most striking example of this manipulative activity is the ritual of the substitute king. In this ritual the king was temporarily deposed and replaced by another man, usually a mentally handicapped person or a criminal. This substitute king 'ruled' for a short period, up to 100 days, after which he was executed. In this way the omen was fulfilled for the reigning king, who resumed his throne afterwards. The substitute king was enthroned in the residence of the king, who was advised to

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Oppenheim 1977: 208-227; Reiner 1998; Koch-Westenholz 1995. A catalogue of the *Enūma Anu Enlil* series was compiled in Seleucid Uruk (Weidner 1941/42: 186-7).

stay within the confines of the palace and not to leave for the open country until the 100-day term of the eclipse was over (Parpola 1983: xxii-xxxii; Smelik 1978/79).

The role of the Babylonian and Assyrian soothsayers should not be underestimated. Their activities, their recommendations, their warnings are accessible to us through their extant letters addressed to the Assyrian kings (Parpola 1970; *idem* 1993). Reading these letters is a must for students who want to learn about Assyrian court life. They may also illuminate our understanding of court life in Babylon when Alexander resided there.

The reputation of the Babylonian scholars spread all over the world. Israelites, Greeks and Romans learned from them and accepted the 'Chaldaeans,' as they were mistakenly called from Herodotus onwards, as experts.<sup>4</sup> Granted, they were also criticized, as may be seen in the quotation from the Bible at the beginning of this article. Greek philosophers also questioned their ability, as did Anaxarchus, who advised Alexander not to listen to the Chaldaean astrologers (Diod. XVII.112.6, cf. below). But Alexander will not have read the prophet Isaiah, and it is questionable whether he was really convinced by Anaxarchus' criticism, despite Diodorus' assertion.

Let us return to the astronomical information for 20 September 331 with which I began this article: the lunar eclipse, the absence of Jupiter, the presence of Saturn, and the winds. The Babylonian astronomical diaries duly record it:

"[...] lunar] eclipse, in its totality covered. 40th minute of the night [totality? ...] – broken (on the original) – Jupiter set; Saturn [...]; [...] during totality the west wind blew, during clearing the east wind. [...] fourth? ...; during the eclipse, death and plague."  
(AD I: 176-7, no. -330 'obv.' 3'-4')

Babylonian experts must have considered this an extremely negative omen for a reigning king. This can be inferred from the omen literature. Eclipses of sun and moon are potentially dangerous for reigning kings. However, collateral circumstances are important too, which give opportunity for divergent interpretations. The main rules are put together in the astronomical commentary *Šumma Šin ina tāmartišu* tabl. 4: 9'-20' (Koch-Westenholz 1995: 104-112) with the commentary of Munnabitum, a Babylonian scholar at the Assyrian court (Parpola 1993: no. 316). They are subsumed in the following table. It

<sup>4</sup> Strabo XVI.1.6 made the subtle distinction between Chaldaeans as local philosophers and as a tribe of the Chaldaeans inhabiting a territory in the neighbourhood of the Arabians and the Persian Sea.

should be noted that the astrological rules are sometimes contradictory and the table is not exhaustive.

<i>Phenomenon</i>	<i>Relevance</i>
<i>Quadrants of the moon</i> <sup>5</sup> up right down left	Amurru Akkad Assyria/Subartu Elam
<i>Directions of the shadow</i> North West South East	Akkad Amurru Elam Subartu and Gutium
<i>Months</i> I, V, IX II, VI, X III, VII, XI IV, VIII, XII	Akkad Elam Amurru Subartu and Gutium
<i>Days</i> <sup>6</sup> 13th 14th 15th 16th	Akkad Elam Amurru Subartu
<i>Winds</i> North West South East	Akkad Amurru Elam Subartu and Gutium
<i>Time of the eclipse</i> evening watch middle watch morning watch	indicates plague indicates diminishing markets indicates that the sick will recover

Let us take a look at some concrete omen texts. In the first place TCL VI.13, rev. II: 16: "moon or sun are eclipsed and Jupiter is not present: end of a reign."

<sup>5</sup> According to Koch-Westenholz, the quadrants are the most important determinants; the other can be seen as supplementary (and give room for personal interpretation).

<sup>6</sup> Lunar eclipses can only occur at full moon, which in the lunar calendar always take place in the middle of the month.

(Rochberg-Halton 1987a: 217; cf. Del Monte 1997: 2). This conforms to the rule that Jupiter is a positive planet, Saturn a negative (Rochberg-Halton 1988b). The presence of Jupiter would have avoided the bad omen: "if a (lunar) eclipse takes place and the planet Jupiter is present in that eclipse, the king is safe; a noble dignitary will die in his stead" (ACh 2 Spl. 29: 14; cf. letter of Munnabitum, Hunger 1992: no. 316, rev. 3; cf. Parpola 1983: xxii).

The so-called *Babylonian Astrological Calendar* reports a fitting omen for an eclipse in Elul (VI): "if in Elul (an eclipse (of the moon) occurs during the evening watch): the enemy will inflict a defeat on the land; the enemy will enjoy my possessions" (Labat 1965, §71: 7). The eclipse of 20 September (13 Elul) took place during the evening watch, the enemy, Alexander, inflicted a defeat 11 days later and Alexander plundered Darius' possessions.

Also of interest is the following astral omen from the so-called 29th *ahû* tablet of *Enûma Anu Enlil*:

"If on either the 13th of 14th day of Ulûlu (Elul = VI) ... the moon is dark; the watch passes and it is dark; his features are dark like lapis lazuli; he is obscured until his midpoint; on the west (quadrant) as it covered, the west wind blew; the sky is dark; his light is covered; the son of the king will become purified for the throne but will not take the throne; an intruder will .... princes in the west; for 8 (gloss: 16) years he will exercise kingship; ...; he will conquer the enemy army; there will be abundance and riches in his path; he will continually pursue his enemy, and his luck will not run out."

(obv. 59-61; Rochberg-Halton 1987b: 346)

Hence, the Babylonian astrologer could expect the death of a reigning king; it was a total eclipse, which would afflict all lands. The supplementary phenomena are contradictory: the 13th day would bring bad luck to Akkad, month VI bad luck for Elam, the west wind during the totality apparently meant: bad luck came from the West (an intruder), east wind during clearing: rescue for Subartu and Gutium.<sup>7</sup> The eclipse took place during the evening watch, which portended plague. The diary records this phenomenon, which confirmed the rule!

If we try to view the world of 20 September 331 BC from the Babylonian perspective, we can predict that the fate of Darius III, the reigning king, the king of Persia (= Elam [month VI]), the king of (all) lands [total eclipse], was bad.

<sup>7</sup> Hephaestio Thebanus argues that lands whence the winds blow at the beginning of the eclipse suffer the destruction signified by the eclipse, but winds blowing at the end of the eclipse signify good things: see Rochberg-Halton 1988a: 59 quoting Hephaestio Thebanus, *Apotelesmatica* (ed. D. Pingree, Leipzig 1973: Teubner), i.21.

The end came due to an intruder from the West [the west wind blew], but the king escaped to the East, to Gutium [during clearing the East wind blew]. It would bring the end of his reign in Elam [month VI] and in Akkad [day 13]. The intruder was expected to rule eight years.

The portent indeed came true. Eleven days later, on 1 October 331 BC, the battle of Gaugamela was fought between Darius III and an intruder from the West, Alexander the Great, and it entailed the end of the reign of Darius III. Alexander was hailed as King of Asia and King of the World. Three weeks later the new king entered Babylon and he sacrificed to Marduk. He was the new king of Akkad. Though King Darius did not die on the battlefield, he escaped to the East, to Gutium, but was killed some eight months later by his satrap Bessus. The second portent I referred to also roughly fits the situation: Alexander was an intruder, he came from the west, pursued Darius, his luck did not run out, but he had to die after eight years. Though the facts did not fit the portents completely (Darius did not die within 100 days), Babylonian scholars will have been glad with the corroboration of their scientific paradigm.

Though divination is a special preoccupation of Babylonian scholarship, it was also important in the Greek world. The Greeks knew extispicy and astrology as well. They frequently asked oracles for advice. Thus the omen of the lunar eclipse also impressed the Greeks and it was recorded by the Greek authors:

"There was an almost total eclipse of the moon, and Alexander sacrificed to the Moon, Sun and Earth, who are all said to cause an eclipse. Aristander thought that the eclipse was favourable to the Macedonians and Alexander, that the battle would take place that month, and that the sacrifices portended victory for Alexander."<sup>8</sup>

(Arrian, *Anab.* III.7.6)

The fate of kings was of special concern for Babylonian diviners, and understandably so. The rise and fall of politicians still fill the pages of newspapers and history books. In addition, the kings were the employers of the diviners. And even when they were not in direct royal service, such as the Babylonian astronomers of the Hellenistic period, who lived off temple income (cf. Van der Spek 1985), they were interested in the policy of kings with respect to the upkeep of the temples.

<sup>8</sup> The procedure reminds us of an old Mesopotamian divinatory practice: the eclipse was merely the announcement of a divine message, the contents of which could be discovered by extispicy.

Apart from an interest in the rise and fall of kings, the rise and fall of dynasties and empires was important for them. It was an age-old theme in Mesopotamian thinking. It is already present in the *Sumerian King List*. The gods give kingship to certain cities and later take it away and give it to other cities. Another exponent of the idea is the so called *Dynastic Chronicle* (ABC chron. 18). The concept found its way into the Bible (*Daniel*) and the classical world (Hesiod and others) as well.

The fall of empires and the rise of new ones still stir man's imagination. This certainly holds true for the fall of the Persian empire, the great slavish and effeminate 'oriental' kingdom which threatened the freedom-loving Greek civilization at Marathon (490 BC) and Thermopylae (480 BC), but which finally had to succumb to the hero from Macedon and champion of the Greeks, Alexander the Great, who brought the blessings of Hellenism to the East.

This traditional view has for a long time now been a caricature and it is widely acknowledged that much of the common opinion was created by the bias of the Greek sources. The problem, however, is that non-Greek sources are so irritatingly scarce, and the sources there are, so frustratingly difficult to understand, partly due to their bad state of preservation, partly due to the fact that the rationale of these texts is poorly understood.

The purpose of this contribution is to squeeze out a little more from them than has hitherto been done. My purpose, however, is not only to present improved editions of already published texts together with a new one, but also to express my view of the nature of these texts. My main question will be whether these texts can be used for obtaining an insight into the attitude of the Babylonian population towards their political overlords, i.e. Darius III and Alexander the Great. In addition, Alexander's opinion of Babylonian wisdom will be reviewed.

All this seems appropriate in a volume dedicated to the memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg, whose main objective in her prolific oeuvre was to take heed of the non-Greek vantage point regarding the Persian empire and whose inaugural lecture (1991) was dedicated to Alexander's treatment of Persepolis. In it, she complained about the lack of first hand information, most of it being Greek reworkings of older, but lost, Greek authors. I hope she would have appreciated this presentation of materials for understanding the Babylonian view of Darius III and Alexander.

### *The Babylonian documents*

Below, I present five cuneiform documents concerning Alexander, four published previously, one as yet unpublished. I have collated all the texts. The documents are different in nature but most, if not all, come from the world of Babylonian scholarship: an astronomical diary mentioning the battle of Gaugamela and Alexander's entry into Babylon (Text 1), a fragment referring to an address to the Babylonians relating to Arses and Alexander (Text 2), a chronicle fragment concerning Darius III and Alexander (Text 3), a chronicle fragment concerning Alexander and Arabia (Text 4), and the so-called *Dynastic Prophecy*, a document attributed to a Babylonian scholar at the Assyrian court prophesying the downfall of Assyria and the subsequent history from Nabopolassar to Alexander the Great (Text 5).

#### *Text 1: The Battle of Gaugamela and Alexander's entry into Babylon (331 BC)*

*Reference* – AD I: 179, no. -330 'obv.' 14'-15' and 'rev.' 3'-15' (BM 36761 + BM 36390). Photo (full-size): *ibid.* pl. 29. Copy: Wiseman 1985: 121. The Diary concerns month VI (= Elul = 8. Sept. - 7. Oct.) and month VII (= Tishri = 8. Oct. - 6. Nov.) 331 BC.

*Description of the tablet* – The diary consists of two tablets, which do not join. The part on which the historical information is written is the left part of a larger tablet of which at least half is lost; the thickness of the tablet at its left edge is 22 mm. rising to 30 mm at the right edge. This means that only half or even less of the left part of the tablet is preserved. From the other tablet only the upper half of the obverse is preserved. The text is clearly written and reading does not pose many problems.

#### *Transliteration – obverse*

- 14' ITU BI U<sub>4</sub> 11.KAM *hat-tu<sub>4</sub> ina ma-dàk-tu<sub>4</sub> ina qud-me* LUGAL GAR-m[a .....]  
 15' *ana tar-ši* LUGAL ŠUB-ú <U<sub>4</sub>> 24.KAM *ina še-ri* LUGAL ŠU *za-qip-ti*[u<sub>4</sub> .....]  
 16' GABA *a-ha-meš im-ha-su-ma* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> <sup>14</sup>ERĪN.MEŠ *kab-ti*[u<sub>4</sub> .....]  
 17' LUGAL ERĪN.MEŠ-šú *ú-maš-šir-ú-ši-ma* ana URU.MEŠ-šú-nu [.....]  
 18' [ana K]UR *Gu-ti-i ZĀH-it-u'* (blank)

#### *Translation*

- 14' That month (VI = Elul), on the 11th (18 September 331 BC), panic occurred in the camp before the king. [*The Hanaeans* .....]  
 15' encamped in front of the king. On the 24th (1 October 331 BC), in the morning, the king of the world [*erected his*] standard [....].

- 16' Opposite each other they fought and a heavy defeat of the troops [of the king he inflicted].  
 17' The king, his troops deserted him and to their cities [...]  
 18' [to the l]and of the Gutians they fled.

#### Comments

- 17' This word order, object – subject – verb, is typical for omens. This particular omen ("the king, his troops will abandon him") is given in the Babylonian astrological calendar for lunar eclipses in months III, VIII and X (Labat 1965, §72: 3; §73: 8, 10).

The passage refers to the Battle of Gaugamela; Darius III is referred to as "the king," Alexander as "the king of the world." At the beginning of this tablet the astral phenomena discussed above are recorded. For an elaborate discussion, see Bernard 1990.

Panic occurred because of the advance of the army of Alexander. This army must have been mentioned in the break. Macedonians are often referred to as 'Hanaeans,' a western nomadic tribe and kingdom on the middle Euphrates in the Middle Babylonian period (cf. Text 3). This belongs to the archaizing tendency of diaries and chronicles in rendering geographic names. This makes them more useful for comparison with omens. The same holds true for "Gutians" (people living to the east of the Tigris) in line 18'.

#### Transliteration – reverse

- 3' [I]TU BI TA I E[N .....]  
 4' ana E.KI GIN-ku um-ma 'É.SAG.ÍL' [.....]  
 5' u DUMU.MEŠ E.KI a-na NÍG.GA É.SAG.ÍL [.....]  
 6' 'U<sub>4</sub>' 11.KAM ina URU UD.KIB.NUN.KI tē-e-mu šá<sup>m</sup> A-l[ek-sa-an-dar-ri-is ....]  
 7' [um-m]a<sup>a</sup> a-na É.MEŠ-ku-nu ul er-ru-ub U<sub>4</sub> 13.KA[M .....]  
 8' [KÁ.SÍ]KIL.LA KÁ ka-mi-i šá É.SAG.GÍL ù .. [.....]  
 9' [.. ..] U<sub>4</sub> 14.KAM<sup>14</sup> Ia-ma-na-a-a MU-tim GU<sub>4</sub> [.....]  
 10' [.. TI] (blank) LUGÚD.DA.MEŠ<sup>u<sup>21</sup></sup> ME.HÉ.ME[Š .....]  
 11' [U<sub>4</sub> ..KAM<sup>m</sup>] A-lek-sa-an-dar-ri-is LUGAL ŠÚ ana E.KI K[U<sub>4</sub>? .....]  
 12' [ANŠE.KU]R.RA.MEŠ ù ú-'nu-ut' [.....]  
 13' [.. ..] u DUMU.MEŠ E.KI u UN.'MEŠ' [.....]  
 14' [.. ..] KU[Š šī-piš-tú ana [.....]  
 15' [.. ..] x um-ma x[ .....]

#### Translation

- 3' That month (VII = Tishri), from the 1st until [..... On the n<sup>th</sup> day Greeks]  
 4' came to Babylon (saying) as follows: "Esagila [will be restored]  
 5' and the Babylonians to the treasury of Esagila [their tithe will give.]"

- 6' On the 11th day (18 October 331) in Sippar an order of Al[exander to the Babylonians was sent]  
 7' [as follow]s: "Into your houses I shall not enter." On the 13th day (20 October 331) [Greeks entered]  
 8' [the Siki]la gate, the outer gate of Esagila and [they prostrated]  
 9' [themselves]. The 14th day (21 October), these Greeks a bull, [.....]  
 10' [n] short [ribs, n] fatty tissues (of the intestines as sacrifice) [.... sacrificed.]  
 11' [On the n<sup>th</sup> day] Alexander, the king of the world, entered Babylon [...]  
 12' [... Hor]ses and equipment [...]  
 13' [...] and the Babylonians and the people [of the land ...]  
 14' [...] a parchment letter to [the Babylonians ...]  
 15' [....] as follows: ["..."]

#### Comments

- 4'-9' The restorations are speculative, but we know that it was Alexander's plan to rebuild Esagila (Arr., *Anab.* VII.17.2), and we know that Babylonians did pay tithes to the treasury of Esagila for the specific purpose of removing the debris of Esagila (cf. Del Monte 1997: 13-17 with n. 41; Jursa 1998: 73f). That high functionaries enter the temple "and prostrate themselves" is a recurring theme in the diaries.  
 10' Cf. VAS VI 268: 3 and 7 = NRV 842, the "rations of the king for the goddess Išhara" contain, among other things, 10 short ribs of the bull and 5 fatty tissues of the sheep (I owe this reference to M. Stol). Compare also the ritual for the renovation of a temple from Uruk TCL 6 46: obv. 4 (Linssen 2002: 300).

As is usual in the diaries, the purpose of the astronomer is to give bare facts. Value judgments seldom occur. The bare facts are fairly favourable for Alexander in this respect. He is the victor and he respects the cult of Marduk. Babylonians will pay their tithes to the temple (of interest perhaps to the temple, less so to the Babylonians).

Outright value judgments are not attested, unless it is that Alexander is called "king of the world" and Darius only "king;" but this can also be seen as a 'bare fact,' since Alexander was hailed 'king of Asia' by his troops after Gaugamela (cf. Fredericksmeier 2000) and Darius was indeed reduced to 'a king' among others. An interesting 'fact' mentioned by the diary is that it holds that Darius was deserted by his troops instead of the other way around, as is maintained by Arrian (*Anab.* III.13.3), but Curtius (IV.15.28-33) and Diodorus (XVII.60.3) present the same picture as the diary.

*Text 2: Fragment referring to Arses and Alexander*

*Reference* – BM 36613 = Sachs 1977: 144-7 (with full-scale photo).

*Description of the tablet* – No edges are preserved, one side is destroyed. The text is clearly written, in the same style and same size and form of the signs and lines, as the previous text.

*Transliteration*

- 2' [.....]x ina IZI<sup>2</sup> [.....]  
 3' [.....]-ú u<sup>10</sup>ERIN.MEŠ [.....]  
 4' [.....] x šá ŠU<sup>II</sup>-šú SAHAR.HIA TA x [.....]  
 5' [.....] x id-de-ku-ú U<sub>4</sub>-mu [... ..]  
 6' [..... MU x K]AM<sup>m</sup>Ár-šú A šá<sup>m</sup>Ú-ma-kuš šá<sup>m</sup>Ár-tak-šat-s[u MU-šú na-bu-ú]  
 7' [.....] KU<sub>4</sub>-ú ú Ē<sup>d</sup>A-nu-ni-tu<sub>4</sub> lib-bi Er[i-du<sub>10</sub>.KI]  
 8' [.....<sup>m</sup>A-lek-sa-an]-dar-ri-is LUGAL GAL {x} DÜ-u' at-tu-nu DUMU.MEŠ E.[KI .....]  
 9' [..... M]EŠ u Ē.MEŠ ana NÍG.GA Ē.SAG.GIL u DUMU.MEŠ E.KI GU[R.MEŠ<sup>7</sup> .....]  
 10' [.....] Ē.SAG.GIL DÜ-uš-u' ú-qu [.....]  
 11' [.....] ERÍ[N.MEŠ i-šu-tu ..[.....]  
 12' [.....]f'.. ..[.....]

*Translation*

- 2' [.....] with fire (??) [.....]  
 3' [.....] ... and the troops [.....]  
 4' [.....] ... of his own hands the debris from ... [.....]  
 5' [.....] they removed. Day [.....]  
 6' [..... year n] of Arses, son of Ochos, who [is called] Artaxerxes  
 7' [... some people your houses] entered and the temple of Anunitu inside (the district of) Er[idu]  
 8' [..... at the command of(?) Alexan]der, the great king, they built. (As for you Babylonians,  
 9' [... the ....] and the houses to the possession of Esagila and the Babylonians they retur[ned .....]  
 10' [..... of] Esagila they made. The army [....  
 11' [.....] few [troo]ps [.....  
 12' .....

*Comments* – Unfortunately this text is very enigmatic, but a few important points emerge. It seems to be (a reference to) a letter to the Babylonians (“you Babylonians,” l. 8’), in which mention is made of some historical facts from the

days of Arses and Alexander regarding temples and houses. This means that the tablet may well be post-Alexander. One option is that it was written at the time of the restorations of Esagila and Ezida by Seleucus I and Antiochus I (Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1991), and that earlier work by the great Alexander was remembered, such as the fact that the troops of Alexander had removed the rubble of Esagila, that he had promised to return houses to the possessions of the temple and the Babylonians.<sup>9</sup>

The temple of Anunitu was in Babylon in the district of Eridu, i.e. the temple district (George 1992: 59, Tablet IV: 14: *é-sag-gá-šár-ra Ē<sup>d</sup>A-nu-ni-tum lib-ba eri-du<sub>10</sub>.KI*). Arrian (*Anab.* III.16.4) does indeed claim that Alexander ordered the rebuilding of more temples (τὰ ἱερὰ) apart from the temple of Bēl. The reading *lib-bi* UR[U UD.KIB.NUN.KI], “within the cit[y of Sippar]” is an option too, and reasonable, since a temple of Anunitu was situated in Sippar, but in my view this fragment concerns primarily Babylonian matters.

Glassner translated lines 7’-8’: “... and the temple of Anunitu within .... which Alexander had built.” This is certainly possible, but I consider the verbs *id-de-ku-ú* (5’), *KU<sub>4</sub>-ú* (7’), *DÜ-u’* (8’), *GU[R.MEŠ]* (9’) and *DÜ-uš-u’* (10’) parallel verbs with the same subject: “they.”

If this tablet really is a letter written by a later Seleucid king, it must be seen as royal propaganda, not as representing a genuine Babylonian view.

*Text 3: Chronicle concerning Darius III and Alexander (Chronicle 8)*

*Reference* – ABC chron. 8. Transcription and translation: *ibid.* 112-3; photo pl. XVII (BM 36304). French translation: Glassner 1993: 205-207 (Chr. 29). Copy by S. Smith in CT 37, 22.

*Description of the tablet* – The fragment is the right part of a large tablet of which at least the left half (but probably more) is broken off. Only a few signs seem to be lost at the right edge. The length of the longest line of the obverse is 6 cm, the length of the longest line of the reverse is 4.5 cm. The thickness of the middle of the tablet measures 26 mm at the right edge and 32 mm at the left edge. Thus, the lines were fairly long, unless we assume it to have been a two-columned tablet. If my interpretation of obv. 3’-4’ is correct, we must assume that the tablet had two columns on both sides, so that columns II and III are

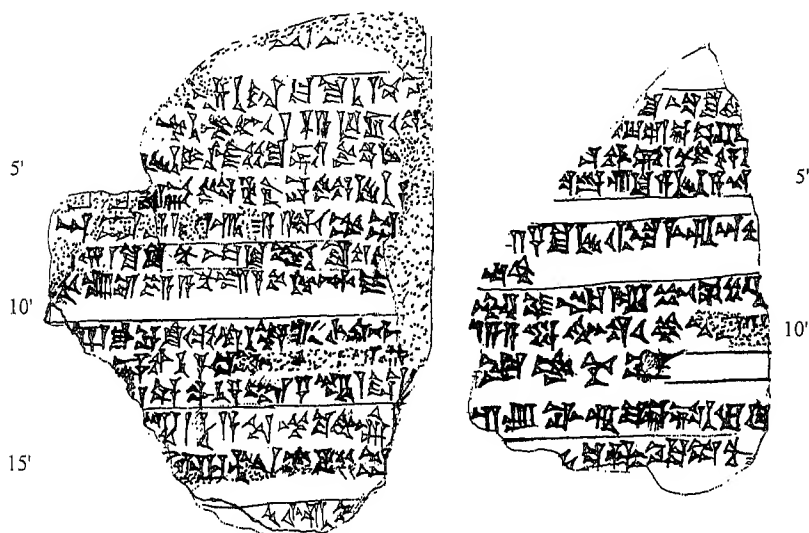
<sup>9</sup> Compare the astronomical diary, Text 1. Note that in this diary mention is made of three messages of Alexander to the Babylonians: lines 3’-5’, concerning Esagila; 7’, the promise not to enter houses; 14’-15’, unknown content.

preserved. Then we can also calculate the missing part on the left side of the columns, viz. ca. 5-7 signs. Not too much seems to be lost at the lower edge. The tablet curves to a thickness of 23 mm at the lower edge. The upper side has a thickness of 25 mm.

BM 36304 (Text 3)

Obv.

Rev.



Perhaps some remarks concerning the dividing lines are in order. Clear dividing lines are drawn after obv. 2', 10', 13', 16' and rev. 1', 5', 6', 8', 11' and 12'. Obv. 8' is written between thin, hardly visible dividing lines. At the end of obv. 11' a line is drawn to mark the remaining blank space. The line after rev. 5' may have had the same function.

In chronicles dividing lines usually mark years of reign. If this was the case in our tablet too, it would mean that many years are reported in this chronicle. If it is true that the beginning of the tablet starts with the beginning of Alexander's reign, then on the reverse the beginning of the war of the Diadochi would be reported. That would duplicate the beginning of chronicle 10, which, however, does not seem to be the case. There are, however, also some chronicles in which dividing lines mark new months (BM 34428 unpubl.). I assume that in this chronicle, at least in some cases, dividing lines introduce nothing at all (perhaps the thin lines before and after obv. 8') or only months.

*Transliteration – obverse*

- 1' [... .. x x ...]  
 2' [... ..] (blank)
- 
- 3' [MU ... ITI ŠU? ... .. ina <sup>giš</sup>G]U.ZA-šú id-de-ku-šú <sup>m</sup>bi-e<sup>1</sup>-[es<sup>2</sup>-su<sup>2</sup>]  
 4' [šá <sup>m</sup>Ar-tak-šat-su (?) MU-šú MU-'u u <sup>m</sup>{DIŠ over erasure}a-lik-sa u ERÍN-  
 [MEŠ-šú]  
 5' [... .. ERÍN]-MEŠ-šú i-šu-tu TA <sup>lu</sup>ERÍN.ME[š ..]  
 6' [... .. x x i]d-dukt <sup>lu</sup>ERÍN ha-ni-e <sup>lu</sup>ERÍN.MEŠ-šú š[á ...]  
 7' [... ..] AN 'RA<sup>2</sup> <sup>1</sup>[...] <sup>m</sup>{da-ri<sup>1</sup>-ia-a-muš LUGAL GIN [MEŠ<sup>2</sup>]
- 
- 8' [ITI NE<sup>2</sup> U<sub>4</sub> 15 <sup>m</sup>ki-di-nu ina <sup>giš</sup>TUKUL GAZ KIN U<sub>4</sub> [... ..]
- 
- 9' [... ..] KUR ú-zu-ia-a-nu URU šá KUR gu-ti-i  
 10' [... ..] (blank)
- 
- 11' [... .. TA] É.GAL E.KI ul-te-šu NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ ší<sup>1</sup>-na-ti  
 12' [... .. ana] e-pe-šú šá GIŠ<sup>2</sup> x [... ..] 'a<sup>1</sup> [... ..]  
 13' [... ..] ana e-pe-šú šá 'EZEN<sup>1</sup> šá <sup>d</sup>EN ana DUMU.M[ÉŠ E.KI SUM-  
 'ú]
- 
- 14' [... ..] <sup>d</sup>EN 'A-šú<sup>1</sup> a-na mu-ma-'-ir-[ú-tu]  
 15' [ip-qid [... ..] 'HUL-ti ana<sup>1</sup> LU[GAL] 'ik-pu-du<sup>1</sup>  
 16' [... ..] (blank)
- 
- 17' [... ..] ar [... ..]  
 (remainder broken off)

*Reverse*

- 1' [... ..] (blank)
- 
- 2' [... ..] x ina GIŠ TUKUL x [... ..]  
 3' [... ..] x ip-qid ITU BI 1-en [... ..]  
 4' [... ..] x <sup>m</sup>pi-ta-nu <sup>lu</sup>ERÍN[.MEŠ-šú]  
 5' [... ..] URU/ID UD.KIB.NUN.KI A.MEŠ-šú a-na [... ..]
- 
- 6' [... ..] (blank)
- 
- 7' [... .. ip-q]id<sup>2</sup> NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ u mim-ma šip-ri AN x [... ..]  
 8' [... ..] na-din (blank)
- 
- 9' [... ..] MAH-tum ina KA <sup>m</sup>At<sup>1</sup>-pu-ul-us<sup>1</sup>-[su ...]  
 10' [ana PN <sup>lu</sup>Ia-ma-n]a<sup>2</sup>-a-a SUM-'u U<sub>4</sub> 10.KAM 'x x x<sup>1</sup> [... ..]  
 11' [... .. ina] KA LUGAL TAR (erasure)



12' [... ..-s]u<sup>2</sup> ú-mar-ri ma-dak-ta-šú ŠUB-d[i ..]

13' [... ..K]UR 'ma-ak<sup>1</sup>-ka-du-nu [...]  
(remainder broken off)

*Translation – obverse*

3' [Year 330<sup>2</sup> month IV<sup>2</sup> ..... from] his [thr]one they removed him. Be[ssos<sup>2</sup>],  
4' [whom Artaxerxes<sup>2</sup>] as his name they named, and Alexa(nder) and his troops  
5' [ ..... with] his few [troop]s from the troops [..... (...)]  
6' [(...) .....] he killed/defeated. The Hanaean troops, his troops wh[ich .....]  
7' [..... from] 'Babylon'<sup>2</sup> [to?] Darius, the king, went.

8' [Month v<sup>2</sup> d]ay 15 (14 Aug.<sup>2</sup>) Kidinnu was killed by the sword. In the  
month Elul (VI = 28 Aug. – 26 Sep.), on the [n<sup>th</sup>] day

9' [..... in] the land of ú-zu-ia-a-nu, a city of the land of Gutium,  
10' [.....].

11' [Year 329<sup>2</sup> ... month ... from] the palace of Babylon they brought out, 'their  
(fem.) goods<sup>1</sup> [(...)]  
12' [..... for] the making of the xx [... ..]  
13' [.....] for the performance of the festival of Bēl to the  
[Babylon]ians [they gave].

14' [Year 328<sup>2</sup> .....]-Bēl, 'his son(?)<sup>1</sup>, to the office of satrap  
15' [they/he appointed .....] evil to the ki[ng] they plotted.  
16' [...]

17' [...] x [...]

*Reverse*

1' [...]

2' [.....] with the sword [...]

3' [.....] he appointed. That month, a certain [...]

4' [.....]x pi-ta-nu, his troop[s]

5' [he assembled, .....] the Euphrates/Sippar his sons/its water to [...]

6' [...] (blank)

7' [Month ..... he appoi]nted(?). The valuables and whatever artifact(?) ... [...]

8' [...] was given. (blank)

9' [Month .....] numerous [...] at the command of Alpulus[su ...]

10' [..... to PN, the Gree]k, they gave. Day 10th, (erasure) [...]

11' [.....] at the command of the king it was cut off (erasure) (blank).

12' [.....] ..... his camp he pitched [...]

13' [...] Macedon [...]

*Comments*

3' <sup>m</sup>Bi-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-[...] Grayson read: *ana bi-x*[...]. In view of line 4', I assume that a personal name is at issue. The name Bessos (<sup>m</sup>Bi-<sup>e</sup>-es-su<sup>2</sup>) would fit the year 330 BC.

4' MU = *nabû*, "to name". *nabû* is in this kind of construction usually rendered by SA<sub>4</sub>, but cf. *Prophecy A*, first side, II: 14, MAN-*ma šá* MU-šú NU MU (Grayson & Lambert 1964: 12). If Bessos is intended, [*šá* <sup>m</sup>Ar-tak-šat-su] MU-šú MU-u', "[whom Artaxerxes] as his name they named]" is to be expected at the beginning of line 4', since Bessos took that name when he deposed Darius as king. My calculation of the length of the missing left parts of the other lines is based on this reconstruction. See also below.

4' *a-lik-sa*. The reading presents no doubts. It can only refer to the royal name Alexander in abbreviated form. Abbreviations of royal names occur more often in chronicles and diaries. The name of Alexander may have been written in full in the previous paragraph, which may have described the battle of Gaugamela.

6' *idduk* means either "he defeated" or "he killed." It may refer to the death of Darius III at the hands of Bessos or to a defeat of Bessos' troops by Alexander (see below).

6' *ha-ni-e* is the name of a people and a kingdom (Hana) of the Old- and Middle-Babylonian periods situated on the middle Euphrates. It is also mentioned in the Agum-kakrime Inscription (Agum returns Marduk and Sarpanitum from the grasp of the Hanaeans, II: 1-11); Longman assumes this composition to be Neo-Assyrian and Hani to be the literary equivalent of Hatti (Longman 1991: 86-7), but Podany takes it simply to be the Middle-Babylonian kingdom of Hana (Podany 1991-3; 2002). In the Hellenistic period the term is apparently a metaphor of Macedon, or by extension Greeks and Macedonians (cf. Briant 1994).

7' At the beginning of line 7' traces of DINGIR (certainly) and RA (possibly) are discernible, which could point to KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI = Babylon. It is a little disturbing that Babylon is written as E.KI in line 11' of this chronicle, and it hardly fits the context.

7' <sup>m</sup>Da-ri<sup>1</sup>-ia-a-muš: Grayson assumed that Darius I was the protagonist, but we can now be certain that Darius III was meant (so Glassner 1993: 206).

- 7' Grayson and Glassner read *šār šarr[āni<sup>meš</sup>]*, i.e. LUGAL LUG[AL.MEŠ], "king of kings." The second LUGAL, however, appears to be DU or GIN = *alāku*, "to go."
- 8' Kidinnu must have been a man of some importance. He is mentioned without any familial or professional designation. It is tempting to see in him the famous astronomer Kidenas who was familiar enough to the scribes of Babylon and probably lived in the fourth century.
- 9' Although the line is written after a thin dividing line, it can hardly introduce a new year, or even a month, since the line must be a continuation of line 8'. Grayson's reading URU *la-a-nu* does not fit the traces. A reading *zu* instead of URU is practically certain. KUR seems fairly clear, though the sign is at the beginning of the break. My reading *ú* is not quite unequivocal. Two vertical wedges are clear which would point to *si*, but very close study of the sign reveals two more thin vertical wedges, which makes the sign an *ú*. That the signs KUR ('land') and URU ('city') are used interchangeable may be surprising, but occurs elsewhere in the chronicles and the diaries: ABC chron. 3: 2 KUR *Hi-in-da-na-a*; 3: 9 URU *Hi-in-da-nu*; ABC chron. 6: 4 URU *Hu-me-e* for Cilicia; ABC chron. 5: rev. 12 URU *la-a-hu-du* for Judah; Diary AD III: 416-7, no. -95 A 10' and 418-9 no. -95 C rev. 6' URU *Ar-mi-ni(-i)* for Armenia; AD I: 60, no. -440 (= -381c): 'rev.' 4' KUR *Sa-mi-né-e* URU SIG-ú *šá* KUR *Ku-up-ru*, "the land of Salamis, a famous city of the land of Cyprus."

I cannot find an interpretation for the geographical name *uzuianu*, which was in the land of Gutium, i.e. any land east of the Tigris. In August-September 330 BC Alexander was in Hyrcania, Parthia and Aria.

- 11'-3' These lines may deal with Alexander's next regnal year, i.e. 329 BC. The central point is that goods are taken from the palace apparently to be used for the temple cult. There may be an echo of this message in the astronomical diary of month VIII of year 8 of Alexander in which it is stated that in November 329 something "[from] the king's palace they took to that house (or: temple)" (AD I: 191, no. -328 'rev.' 26').
- 14' If after this clear dividing line again a new year was introduced, we are now in 328/27 BC. It is the year that the satrap Mazaeus died (winter 328/7; Arr., *Anab.* IV.18.3; Curt. VIII.3.17; Berve 1926 II: no. 484). If so, the person named [...]Bêl, who was appointed satrap, might be a son of Mazaeus. Classical authors report that Mazaeus had several sons, three (or two) of which are mentioned by name, viz. Artiboles (Berve 1926 II: no. 154), Antibelus or Brochubelus (Berve 1926 II: no. 82). All three names are Babylonian: Ardi-Bêl, Iddin-Bêl (? or also Ardi-Bêl?) and Buraqu-Bêl. Brochubelus was "at one time" *praetor* of Syria (*Syriae quondam praetor*,

Curt. V.11.13). *Quondam* does not necessarily refer to the past,<sup>10</sup> which would mean that he could have been appointed governor of Syria at a later date by Alexander, possibly as successor to Asclepiodorus, who left the satrapy in 329 BC (cf. Berve 1926 I: 258 and II: 88). According to Plut., *Alex.* 39, Alexander wished to give an unnamed son of Mazaeus a second satrapy.

It is very difficult to interpret and date this chronicle, although it is now certain that the Darius in line obv. 7' is Darius III, not Darius I. The events which seem easiest to date are those described in 3'-7'. There are several elements in this section, which seem to refer to events of the summer of 330 BC, the year after the battle of Gaugamela. The dethronement (line 3') of someone may provide the clue. The only dethronements I can imagine are those of Arsēs in 336 BC, which seems too early, since Alexander was not at that stage in Asia, and the imprisonment of Darius III by Bessos, satrap of Bactria and Sogdiana, Nabarzanes, chiliarch of Darius, and Barsaentes, satrap of Arachosia and Drangiana in Thara (Arr., *Anab.* III.21.1; Curt. V.12.4, 15). Alexander was told this, just after passing the Caspian gates (end of June 330 BC; cf. Brunt 1976: 494-5). Darius III was killed shortly after, in early July (*ibid.* 497), near Hecatompylos, by Satibarzanes and Barsaentes on the order of Bessos (Arr., *Anab.* III.21.9-10; Diod. XVII.73.2; Curt. V.13.13; Plut., *Alex.* 42; *Itiner.* 69; Ps.Call. II.20; Jul.Val. II.31). Bessos returned to Bactria and prepared for war against Alexander. He assumed the royal tiara and declared himself successor to Darius under the throne name Artaxerxes (Arr., *Anab.* III.25.3; Diod. XVII.74.2, 83.7; Curt. VI.6.13).

The "few troops" of line 5 may refer to the small army with which Alexander pursued Bessos (Arr., *Anab.* III.21.2, 7). According to Arrian, Satibarzanes and Barsaentes wounded Darius when Alexander was right upon them, left him where he was and escaped. "Darius died of his wound soon after, before Alexander had seen him" (Arr., *Anab.* III.21.10). Quintus Curtius (V.13.24-5), Plutarch (*Alex.* 43) and Justin (XI.15), however, have Darius still alive when found by the Macedonians.

I have also tried the hypothesis that in line 8'-10' the battle of Gaugamela was mentioned, which took place on 24 Elul. That would mean that in line 3' no reference to Bessos is made, that the second name of line 4' would refer to "[Artashata, whom Darius] as his name they named," line 7' would then refer to the departure of Darius in the direction of Gaugamela, Kidinnu may have been

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Livy I.39.3: Tanaquil to her husband after the prodigy of the child with the flames around the head: *scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum*; also attested in Vergil (suggestion C.H.M. Kroon, Amsterdam).

executed for giving a negative prediction on the basis of the lunar eclipse of 13 Elul, the battle may have been mentioned in the same line as having taken place on "Elul, day [24]," after which Darius fled to "the land Uzuianu, a city of the land of Gutium," which would fit nicely the information of the diary, though one would expect Ecbatana, rather than Uzuianu. Lines 11'-13' would then refer to Alexander's arrival in Babylon. This would also explain why Darius is called king in line 7', while Alexander is not in line 4'.

Attractive though this reconstruction may be, some puzzles remain. Who was removed from the throne before Gaugamela? Who was Bi-e-...? Or do we have to read *ana bi-x*-...? Who was defeated or killed in line 6'?

*Reverse* – The reverse is even more difficult to date. There are few clues. There is no indication of the death of a king, so I assume, in view of the fact that only a small section of the lower part of the tablet was lost, that we are still in the reign of Alexander. The best clue for a date is the reference to a man named Alpulus[su ..], which could be a clumsy rendering of Harpalus. Grayson read here a Babylonian name (<sup>md</sup>*Nabû-bu-ul-li*-...), but the reading *Al-pu-ul-us*-... must be considered certain. If indeed Harpalus is concerned, then line 9' belongs to February 324 BC at the latest, when Harpalus fled from Babylon (cf. Badian 1961). Another candidate for this name is (a hypocoristic of) Apollodorus of Amphipolis who was appointed *strategos* alongside Mazaeus the satrap (Arr., *Anab.* III.16.4) and who was still in office in 323 BC, when Alexander returned to Babylon (Arr., *Anab.* VII.18.1; Plut., *Alex.* 73).

#### Further comments

- 2'-3' Reference to an execution and an appointment may relate to the purge of satraps Alexander carried out in December 325 BC (Bosworth 1988: 240; Badian 1961: 16-18). In March 324 he arrived in Susa and executed the satrap Abulites. However, it is sobering to note that on the obverse the execution of a certain Kidinnu is mentioned, of whom we would know nothing, if his name had been lost in a break.
- 4' The reference to a person named Pitānu seems promising. With a little fantasy we may detect the name Peithon here, but which Peithon this could have been and which troops and for what he assembled them is difficult to guess. But doubts are in order. The vertical wedge before the name, which I interpreted as a 'Personenkeil' may also be part of a larger sign of which traces exist, e.g. *qa*. If a Peithon is concerned then Peithon the son of Crateuas seems the best candidate (Berve 1926 II: no. 621). He was in Babylon with Alexander at the time of the latter's death. What he did at this period is unknown, except that he slept in the temple of Serapis in order to find out the god's will with respect to Alexander's illness (Arr., *Anab.*

VII.25.2).<sup>11</sup> After Alexander's death he became satrap of Media and was given the task of subduing the revolt of the Greek colonists in Bactria by Perdiccas. The mustering of troops for the expedition against the rebellious Greeks in Bactria may be at issue. If so, the reverse of the tablet describes events after the death of Alexander, but then a reference to "the king," who gives orders in line 11' is odd, there being no kings to give orders.

- 5' UD.KIB.NUN.KI can be the Euphrates or Sippar and A.MEŠ can mean 'sons' as well as 'water,' which makes the sentence very difficult to understand.
- 7' *mim-ma šip-ri* AN: Grayson read *mim-ma ana aš-ri* <sup>d</sup>X, "and whatever for the emplacement of god X," which is also possible.
- 9'-10' As argued above, these lines may refer to the activities of Harpalus or Apollodorus. Harpalus was a treasurer of the central satrapies based at Babylon (τῶν ἐν Βαβυλῶνι θησαυρῶν καὶ τῶν προσόδων τὴν φυλακὴν πεπιστευμένος, Diod. XVII.108.4). He lived in a regal style in the royal palace and spent a lot of money. Lines 7'-10' may then refer to his requisitions. In particular lines 9'-10' report an event which shows remarkable similarity to the transaction recorded by BM 79001, dated to the 4th year of Antigonos, 314 BC, in which 3 minas of silver in staters of Alexander "was disbursed from the property of Bēl on the orders of *Ka-li-nu-uk-su* (Kallinikos?), the Greek, the *azdakarri*, who is in charge of the treasury, for food for *Du-ru-uk*?-*ti-i-di* (Dorokteides??), the Greek" (Stolper 1993: 82-86). This Kallinikos may well be a later successor to Harpalus.
- 11' The cuneiform sign TAR can represent both *parāsu* and *nakāsu*, "to cut off."
- 12' *umarri*: This word seems to be a verb derived from the D-stem of *arû* (cf. CAD A II, 317 s.v. *arû* C), "to cut branches." This is, in this context, not very likely. The signs may also be part of a personal name if the last vertical wedge of the suggested *s]u* were a 'Personenkeil,' or if a name ...*s]umarri* were at issue. The phrase "his camp he pitched" may refer to Alexander's encamping of the army at Opis (August 324 BC; Arr., *Anab.* VII.12.3).
- 13' The name *Makkadunu* (Macedon) occurs in two chronicles: ABC chron. 10: 8, "[The king (= Philip III)] returned to Macedon;" 10: 13, "Philip III was in Macedon [...];" ABC chron. 12, rev. 3: Seleucus marches to Macedon, "his land." The gentilicium "Macedonian" (*Makkadunaia*) is used for Seleucus I

<sup>11</sup> The temple of Serapis must be the temple of Marduk. It is the only sensible place and Ptolemy, Arrian's source, evidently equated this head of the Babylonian pantheon with his own creation: Serapis. Another argument may be found in Plutarch (*Alex.* 73), where the poor stranger who was destined for the role of substitute king was said to have been released by Serapis. In this case too, it can only have been done by the clergy of Bēl (cf. Bosworth 1988: 172).

in the building inscription of Antiochus I (Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1991: 75, 1: 5). The context of the word here is completely lost.

*Text 4: Chronicle concerning Alexander and Arabia*

*Reference* – BM 41080 (unpublished).

*Description of the tablet* – Small fragment. Height: 50 mm, width 35 mm. Reverse destroyed.

*Transliteration*

- 1' [... *ma-dak*]-*ta-šú* ŠUB [...]  
 2' [... *íd* ...] *'i*-*bir-nim-ma* LUGAL [...]  
 3' [... *íd*.*MAŠ.G*]*Ú*.GAR GABA *a-ha-meš* [...]  
 4' [... *lú*ERIN.MEŠ *Ha-n*]*i-e* ana KUR *A-ra-bi* [...]  
 5' [...]*NÍG*.BA UN KUR MAH [...]  
 6' [... *E.K*]*i* u *lú*ERIN LUGAL TA *'E*.*[KI* [...]  
 7' [... *m**A-li*]*k-sa-an-d*[*ar* LUG]AL [...]  
 8' [... *-d*]*a-ga* ana *lú*DUMU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ [*E.KI* [...]  
 9' [...]*x* x *ina* KÁ.GAL *'x*' [...]  
 10' [...]*d*EN u *d*AG [...]

*Translation*

- 1' [...] he pitched his [cam]p [...]  
 2' [...] they<sup>2</sup> crossed [the river *Tigris*] to this side. The king [...]  
 3' [...] on the river *Ti*]gris opposite each other [...]  
 4' [...] Han]ean [troops] to the land of Arabia [...]  
 5' [...] ... numerous gifts of the people of the land [...]  
 6' [...] Babyl]on<sup>2</sup> and the troops of the king from Ba[bylon] [...]  
 7' [...] Ale]xand[er, the ki]ng [...]  
 8' [...] Perd]iccas<sup>??</sup> to the citizens [of Babylon] [...]  
 9' [...] ... in the gate ..[ [...]  
 10' [...] Bēl and Nabu [...]

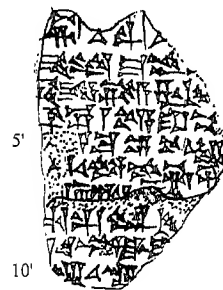
*Comments* – This fragment probably deals with the second entry of Alexander the Great into the city of Babylon, but the condition of the tablet hardly allows firm conclusions.

The crossing of the Tigris may refer to Alexander's crossing, when he came from the East early in 323 BC. Apparently, he pitched his camp there. He was met there by Babylonian astrologers (see below). The form *ibirnimma* is

problematical. *Ibir* is singular, but *nim* is the ventive ending of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural.

Our fragment speaks about numerous gifts of the people (line 5'). This may be reflecting Diodorus' remark about Alexander's entry into Babylon (XVII.112.6): "As on the previous occasion, the population received the troops hospitably, and all turned their attention to relaxation and pleasure, since everything necessary was available in profusion."

BM 41080 (Text 4)



Interesting to note is the reference to the preparations for war against Arabia, preparations which were made at Babylon already before Alexander arrived there (Arr., *Anab.* VII.19.3-20.10; cf. Strabo XVI.1.11). If we may believe Strabo XVI.4.27, Alexander even intended "to make it his royal abode after his return from India." If this intention was known in Babylon, it must have displeased the Babylonian priesthood, who would have remembered Nabonidus, who made Thaema (Teima) in Arabia his royal abode and who neglected the cult of Marduk, even trying to promote the cult of Sin there (Beaulieu 1989: 43-65).

Perdiccas was already in Babylon before Alexander arrived, since he had gone there with the body of Hephaestion in order to build his funeral pyre (Arr., *Anab.* VII.14; Plut., *Alex.* 72; Just. XII.12.11; Diod. XVII.110.8). Possibly Perdiccas made an announcement to the population of Babylon and referred to his promise to rebuild the sanctuary of Bēl.

The entrance by Alexander seems to be mentioned in line 9'. It is frustrating that no clear name of a gate is mentioned. The traces point to the beginning of *i*, which could be part of *i-ru-ub*, "he entered," but entering through a gate is in Akkadian not construed with *ina*. Actually, the name of the gate is expected, but no name of a gate fits the traces.

*Text 5: The Dynastic Prophecy*

*Reference* – BM 40623; BHLT, ch. 3. Full-scale copy: *ibid.* 28-29; transcription and translation: 30-37; cf. Lambert 1978.

*Description of the tablet* – The preserved fragment (100 x 75 mm) must be only a tiny part of a large tablet, containing poor remnants of two columns on both sides. The thickness of the lower edge is 25 mm and increases to 30 mm at the upper edge and the curvature of the tablet shows no decreasing. This means that at least the upper half of the tablet is lost, if not more. This is also borne out by

the content of the tablet, as we shall see below. Lambert has shown that (at least) one column on both sides was lost, so that only columns I, II, V and VI are preserved. The left part of col. II corresponds with the left part of col. III (Grayson) = V (Lambert) and this feature was made clear by a line on the unscripted bottom edge which connects as it were the beginnings of the lines of both columns.

I tried to reconstruct the width of the columns, or the length of the lines. On average they must have contained eleven signs and measured ca. 4.5 cm. I deduce this from the lines where we can gain an idea of a complete line in the phrases: *x-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ LUGAL-ú-tu DÜ-uš* = "For x years he will exercise kingship" in I: 25' and II: 6'; V: 4 and 8. In column VI: 7-8 this expression seems to be stretched out over two lines in view of the blank space before *DÜ-uš* in 8 and the traces in 7 which allow a reading [... MU.AN.N]A.M[EŠ]. The number of eleven signs per line is evidently an approximation: some signs are larger than others, at some instances parts of the lines are left blank, I: 16', 17', 18', 19'; II: 10', 15'; V: 3, 7, 15, 16, 21; VI: 8. In the transliteration I have marked the length of the gap by two dots per lost sign.

#### Transliteration

col. I.

(lacuna of ca. 25 lines or more)

- 1' [... .. in-ni(?)]-in-ni  
 2' [... .. in(?)]-ni-in-ni  
 3' [... .. a-na ár-kát U<sub>4</sub>]-mu e-zib  
 4' [... .. DINGIR.MEŠ] GAL.MEŠ  
 5' [... .. i]-gul-ma  
 6' [... .. i]-mur
- 
- 7' [... .. ár-kát U<sub>4</sub>-mu  
 8' [... .. is-sa-kip  
 9' [... .. i]g-gam-mar  
 10' [... .. e-mu-q]u KUR AŠ-šur.KI  
 11' [... .. x KUG.GA-ú  
 12' [... .. ZI-am-ma  
 13' [... .. T]IN.TIR.KI ZI-am-ma  
 14' [... .. is-sa-ak-ki-pi  
 15' [... .. ú]-nu-tu ÍL-ma  
 16' [... .. x (blank) GIN-ma  
 17' [... .. (blank) i-šab-bat  
 18' [... .. (blank) i-naq-qar  
 19' [... .. (blank) i-sa-am-ma-ak

- 20' [šil-la-tum ka-bi]-tum ana TIN-TIR.KI ú-še-reb  
 21' [... .. É.SAG.ÍL] ú É.ZI.DA  
 22' [... .. ú-za-a-an  
 23' [... .. É.GAL E.KI DÜ-uš  
 24' [... .. x EN.LÍL.KI a-na E.KI  
 25' [... x-ta MU.AN].NA.MEŠ LUGAL-ú-tu DÜ-uš
- 

col. II.

(lacuna of ca. 27 lines)

- 1' x [... ..]  
 2' a-a-[um-ma<sup>14</sup> NUN [... ..]  
 3' TA x[... ..]  
 4' i-te-lu x[... ..]  
 5' i-sa-ak-kip x[... ..]  
 6' 3-ta MU.AN.NA.MEŠ [LUGAL-ú-tu DÜ-uš]  
 7' pal-lu-uk-ku ú t[a-hu-mu (... ..)]  
 8' a-na UN.MEŠ-šú ú-k[a-an (... ..)]  
 9' EGIR-šú DUMU-šú <ina> AŠ.TE u[š-šá-ab]  
 10' ul i-(erasure) (blank) [be-el(?) KUR(?)]
- 
- 11' E<sub>11</sub>-a<sup>14</sup> NUN ha-a[m-ma-'u ...]  
 12' BAL-e Har-ra-an [... ..]  
 13' 17-ta MU.AN.NA.M[EŠ LUGAL-ú-tu DÜ-uš]  
 14' UGU KUR i-dan-nin-ma 'EZEN É.SAG<sup>1</sup>. [ÍL ú-šab-ša]  
 15' BÂD ina E.KI (erasure) [... ..]  
 16' HUL-ti ana KUR URI.KI ú-ša-am-m[a-ar]
- 
- 17' LUGAL KUR NIM.MA.KI i-te-eb GiŠ PA LUGAL i[-šab-bat]  
 18' ina AŠ.TE-šú i-de-ek-ke-e-šu-ma  
 19' AŠ.TE DIB u LUGAL šá <ina> AŠ.TE ZI-ú  
 20' LUGAL KUR NIM.MA.KI a-šar-šú ú-nak-k[a-ar]  
 21' ina KUR ša-nam-ma ú-še-šeb-šú  
 22' LUGAL šu-ú UGU KUR i-dan-nin-ma [(...)]  
 23' KUR.KUR.MEŠ ka-la-ši-na bil-tum [... ..]  
 24' i-na BAL-e-šú KUR URI.KI šub-tum ni-i[h-tum TUŠ]

(cols. III and IV missing)

col. v.

- 1 [... ..]  
 2 [<sup>gis</sup>ha]t-tum LUGAL.MEŠ [... ..]  
 3 [š]á a-bi-šú (blank) x-[-. . . . .]  
 4 2 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ [LUGAL-ú-tu DÜ-uš]  
 5 LUGAL šá-a-šú<sup>lú</sup> ša-re-[ši . . . . .]  
 6 ʾa<sup>1</sup>-a-um-ma<sup>lú</sup> NUN-ʾú<sup>1</sup> [ha-am-ma-ʾu]  
 7 ʾZI<sup>1</sup>-am-ma (blank) AŠ.T[E i-šab-bar]  
 8 5 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ LUGAL-[ú-tu DÜ-uš]  
 9 <sup>lú</sup>ERÍN.MEŠ KUR ha-ni-i x[. . . . .]  
 10 ZI.MEŠ u<sup>2</sup> [..]-ʾú<sup>2</sup>-ú<sup>2</sup> u<sup>2</sup>ʾ[[-. . . . .]  
 11 <sup>lú</sup>ERÍN<sup>1</sup>[.MEŠ-šú(?) . . . . .]  
 12 [hu]-bu-ut-su i-hab-ba-t[ú šil-lat-su]  
 13 i-šal-la-lu ár-ka-nu<sup>lú</sup> E[RÍN.MEŠ-šú (. . .)]  
 14 ú-kaš-šar-ma<sup>gis</sup> TUKUL.MEŠ-šú [L (. . .)]  
 15 <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL<sup>d</sup> UTU (blank) u<sup>d</sup> [AMAR.UD<sup>2</sup> (. . .)]  
 16 DA<sup>lú</sup> ERÍN.MEŠ-šú (blank) GIN.[MEŠ . . . . .]  
 17 su-kup-tu<sup>lú</sup> ERÍN.MEŠ ha-ni-i ʾi<sup>1</sup>-[šak-kan]  
 18 šil-lat-su ka-bit-tum i-šal-l[a-al-ma]  
 19 a-na É.GAL-šú ú-[še-reb . . .]  
 20 <sup>lú</sup>UN.MEŠ šá lum-nu i-[mu-ru]  
 21 dum-qa (blank) [... ..]  
 22 lib-bi KUR [DÜG.GA]  
 23 za-ku-tú [... ..]

(lacuna of ca. 25 lines)

col. vi.

(lines 1-6 broken off)

- 7 [... .. MU.AN].ʾNA.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
 8 [LUGAL-ú-tu] (blank) DÜ-uš  
 9 [... ..] ú-tal-la-lum  
 10 [... .. ZI-a]m-ma KUR DIB-bat  
 11 [... ..]  
 12 [... .. KUR] ʾi-be-el-lu<sup>1</sup>  
 13 [... .. DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
 14 [... .. la mu-du]-ú la tu-kal-lam  
 15 [... .. E]N KUR KUR

- 16 [... ..] l-en tup-pi  
 17 [... ..<sup>m</sup>]mun-nab-tum  
 18 [... ..] šá-tir IGI.TAB  
 19 [... ..] x GAR-an  
 20 [... ..] x  
 21 [... ..]  
 (remainder lost)

## Translation

col. i.

(beginning broken off; at least 25 lines missing)

- 1' [Words..... which are un]alterable  
 2' [..... which are un]alterable  
 3' [..... for poster]ity he left  
 4' [..... of the] great [gods]  
 5' [.....] he took heed and  
 6' [.....] he saw.  
 7' [.....] in later time  
 8' [.....] will be overthrown,  
 9' [.....] will come to an end.  
 10' [..... the ar]my of Assyria  
 11' [.....] ... they will be purified.  
 12' [A king ...] will set out,  
 13' [..... from] Babylon he will set out,  
 14' [the enemy ....] will be overthrown  
 15' [.....ut]ensils he will carry off and  
 16' [.....] he will go and  
 17' [.....] he will seize;  
 18' [.....] he will demolish,  
 19' [.....] he will remove (?),  
 20' [extens]ive [booty] he will bring into Babylon.  
 21' [... Esagila] and Ezida  
 22' [.....] he will decorate,  
 23' [.....] the palace of Babylon he will build.  
 24' [.....]x (of?) Nippur to Babylon  
 25' [... For n yea]rs he will exercise kingship.

## col. II.

(beginning broken off; ca. 27 lines missing)

- 1' .. .. .  
 2' A cer[tain prince/king will arise(?)]  
 3' From(?) [.....]  
 4' will arise [.....]  
 5' he will overthrow [.....]  
 6' For three years [he will exercise kingship].  
 7' Boundaries and b[orders (...)]  
 8' for his people he will c[onfirm].  
 9' After him his son will ascend the throne,  
 10' he will not [rule the land (?)]
- 
- 11' There will arise a re[bel] prince [(.. ..)],  
 12' The dynasty of Haran [he will establish].  
 13' For 17 years [he will exercise kingship]  
 14' He will be stronger than the land and the festival of Esa[gila he will interrupt].  
 15' A wall in Babylon [he will build].  
 16' He will plot evil against Akkad.
- 
- 17' A king of Elam will set out. The royal sceptre he will [take from him].  
 18' From his throne he will remove him and  
 19' he will seize the throne and the king whom he made rise (*ušetbû*) from the throne,  
 20' the king of Elam will change his place.  
 21' In another land he will settle him.  
 22' That king will be stronger than the land and  
 23' all the lands [will bring to him] tribute.  
 24' During his reign Akkad [will live] in security.

(cols. III and IV missing)

## col. V.

- 1 .....  
 2 [... the sc]epte<sup>?</sup> of kingship .. [.....]  
 3 of his father ... [.....]  
 4 For two years [he will exercise kingship].  
 5 That king a eunuch [will murder].  
 6 A certain [rebel<sup>?</sup>] prince  
 7 will set out and [seize] the thr[one]

- 8 Five years [he will exercise] king[ship]  
 9 Troops of the land of Hani [.....]  
 10 will set out (*pl.*) a[nd<sup>?</sup> .. ].<sup>r</sup>-ship<sup>?</sup> th[ey will<sup>?</sup> ...]  
 11 [his] troop[s *they will defeat*;  
 12 booty from him they will take [and his spoils]  
 13 they will plunder. Later [his] tr[oops SOMEONE]  
 14 will assemble and his weapons he will ra[ise (...)]  
 15 Enlil, Shamash and [Marduk(?)]  
 16 will go at the side of his army [(...);]  
 17 the overthrow of the Hanaean troops he will [bring about].  
 18 Extensive booty he will car[ry off] from him(!) [and]  
 19 into his palace he [will bring it]  
 20 The people who had [experienced] misfortune  
 21 [will enjoy] well-being.  
 22 The heart of the land [will be happy]  
 23 Tax exemption [*he will grant to the Babylonians*]  
 (lacuna of ca. 25 lines)

## col. VI.

(lines 1-6 broken away)

- 7 [..... For x yea]rs  
 8 [kingship] (blank) he will exercise.
- 
- 9 [... *for kingship*] *they will be purified*.
- 
- 10 [A king/prince will set] out and seize the land.  
 11 [*For x years he will exercise kingship*]  
 12 [*After him his sons*] will rule [the land].
- 
- 13 [..... a secret/taboo of] the great gods.  
 14 [You may show it to the initiated, but to the uninitiat]ed you must not show it.  
 15 [It is a secret/taboo of Marduk, lo]rd of the lands.
- 
- 16 [... in accordance with] one tablet,  
 17 [... from the tablet of] Munnabtum,  
 18 [according to the original] written, collated.  
 19 [.....] .....  
 20 [.....] .....  
 (broken off; ca. 27 lines missing, most of it probably blank)



## Comments

1.1'-6' As suggested by Grayson, I take these lines to be the introduction. The author says that he has received from "the great gods" (line 4') a vision, with predictions that are unalterable, which he has left to posterity, to which he paid heed (*i-qul-ma* from *qālu*; suggestion M. Stol); or something of the sort.

The author apparently was supposed to be an astrologer from the late Assyrian period, because he 'foresaw' the fall of Assyria. The best candidate is the Babylonian astrologer Munnabitū, who wrote astrological reports to Assyrian kings in the time of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal and whose name is mentioned in the colophon (see below ad VI: 17).

7' *ār-kat* U<sub>4</sub>-*mu*, "in later time:" the prediction starts here; possibly paralleled by *arkānu*, "later" in V: 13 (see below).

7'-25' These lines refer to the fall of Assyria and the rise and reign of Nabopolassar, as was suggested by Grayson (BHLT: 24) and Lambert (1978: 12). But Lambert added that "Nebuchadnezzar might be meant," and this was also the opinion of D.J. Wiseman (1985: 96). Since a substantial part of the beginning of column II is lost, the most probable option is to assume that Nabopolassar was described here and Nebuchadnezzar in the lost part of column II. Furthermore, the preserved parts of col. I seem to be more in line with the context. Troops of Assyria (10') are referred to as well as fighting within Babylonia itself (12'-13') and the city of Nippur is mentioned, which played an important role in the war between Assyria and Nabopolassar. The building activities concerning Esagila, Ezida and the palace can be ascribed to either king. But it would be difficult to explain why the author should have omitted the man who put an end to the domination of Assyria. Nabopolassar was considered an heroic figure in later Babylonian literature as witnessed by the so-called *Nabopolassar Epic* about his coronation (BHLT: 78-86).

25' The beginning of the line requires a verb belonging to the sentence of line 24'. This is vindicated by the fact that both lines are densely written and push up a little against the left edge of col. II.

II.1' The lost beginning of the column, as argued above, will have contained elaborate 'predictions' about Nabuchadnezzar II (605-562 BC) and a succinct reference to the reign of Evil-Merodach, two years of reign (562-560 BC).

2'-8' These lines refer to Neriglissar, who had assassinated the reigning king, his brother in law. He ruled three years and eight months (560-556 BC). The fact that he was a usurper is suggested by the phrase "a certain prince," a phrase which was used for Darius III in V: 6, the basis for my restoration of II: 2'. In lines 3'-5' reference may be made to his expedition to Cilicia, recorded in ABC chron. 6. In lines 7'-8' he is portrayed as a just king who protected the

borders of the fields of the Babylonian citizens, which is a positive value judgement.

9'-10' Labashi-Marduk, his son, was king for hardly more than a month, but did not rule the land effectively. He was a mere child and not many cities accepted his rule. The expression "he will rule the land" (*ma-a-ti i-bé-el*) occurs in a report of Munnabitū ("The king of Akkad will rule the land whenever he wants," Hunger 1992, no. 318: 4-5).

11'-6' There can be no doubt that these lines describe the reign of the usurper Nabonidus (556-539 BC). He rebuilt the city of Haran, reigned 17 years and built the 'Wall of Nabonidus.' The final verdict of his reign is negative: "he did plot evil against Babylonia," because the Akitu festival was interrupted (*ba-ti-l*) for several years (ABC chron. 7 II: 6, 11, 20, 24), a fact probably referred to in line 14'. See also the *Verse Account*: ZAG.MUK *lu-ša-ab-ṭi-il*, "I (Nabonidus) will discontinue the New Year Festival" (BHT pl. 6 II: 11; cf. CAD B 176a). Strangely, Nabonidus' sojourn in Thama in Arabia, mentioned in the chronicle and apparently the cause of the interruption of the festival, is not referred to in the Prophecy.

If we put the information of the chronicle and the *Dynastic Prophecy* together, it appears that the long absence from Babylonia in association with the ensuing interruption of the New Year Festival was judged negatively in Babylon and this view persisted into the Hellenistic period (*pace* Kuhrt 1990b).

17'-24' This section deals with the reign of Cyrus the Great. That Cyrus deposed the former king and settled him in another country is also reported by Berossus (Jos., *Contra Apionem* 1.20-21; Eusebius, *Praep. Evang.* IX.41). Thus the statement of Xenophon (*Cyr.* VII.5.29-33), that the king died, must be wrong, or refer to Belshazzar, his son, who for years fulfilled many royal duties, without, however, ever bearing the title of king.

Grayson interprets lines 22'-24' as being unfavourable to Cyrus, but in my opinion incorrectly so. *Elī māti danānu* does not mean "to oppress," but nothing more than it says: "to be stronger than the land," i.e. that his seizure of power was successful. It is a neutral statement. The same was true for Nabonidus (II: 14). That it can also be the other way around is shown by an omen-apodosis in *Šumma izbu*: "the country will be stronger than the king and drive out the king" (CT 27, 32 K. 3865: r. 6; cf. CAD D 84a). To be a strong king is a favourable judgement and apparently the prophecy was favourable for this king. To rule all countries and to bring back booty from foreign countries are features of good kings. The final judgement must thus also have been favourable.

I admit that my filling of the gap in line 24' is totally contrary to Grayson, who translates here: "during his reign Akkad [will not enjoy] a

peaceful abode." I consider Grayson's translation highly unlikely. In the first place, the phrase *šubtu nēhtu ašābu* "to live undisturbed," "to live in security" is always used affirmatively and is a standard apodosis in the omen literature (cf. CAD N II: 151-2 for the references). Secondly, in Nabonidus' case his bad policy is also described in the affirmative. Lastly, Cyrus' policy is in the extant cuneiform evidence treated as positive: he respected the cult of Marduk and saw to it that the New-Year's Festival was observed. This is true, not only of the *Cyrus Cylinder* and the *Verse Account* of Nabonidus, which compositions may be regarded as Persian propaganda, but also in the Babylonian chronicle, which devotes a lot of space to the entry of the Persian troops after the retreat of Nabonidus. It stresses the fact that no interruption took place in the temple ceremonies: "afterwards, after Nabonidus retreated, he was captured in Babylon. Until the end of the month the shield-bearing troops) of the Guti (i.e. the army of Gubaru, the governor of 'Gutium' = Gobryas, governor of a province on the eastern border of the Tigris, who had entered Babylon before Cyrus) surrounded the gates of Esagila. (But) there was no interruption (of rites) in Esagila or the (other) temples and no date for a performance was missed" (ABC chron. 7, III: 16-18). Afterwards, when Cyrus himself entered Babylon, "there was peace in the city while Cyrus spoke his greeting to all of Babylon" (*ibid.*, III: 19-20). Compare also the *Cyrus Cylinder* ll. 24-25, "the city of Babylon and all its cult centres I maintained in well-being" (Berger 1975).

An intriguing parallel is the liver omen YOS 10 17 obv. 9: *i-lu ze-nu-tum a-na ma-tum i-tu-ru-nim-ma ma-t[um šu-ub-ta]m né-eh-tam* [*uš-ša*]-*ab*, "the angry gods will return to the country, the country will settle down calmly" (Jeyes 1989: 30). This is exactly what Cyrus had done according to ABC chron. 7, III: 21-22: "from the month Kislev to the month Adar the gods of Akkad which Nabonidus had brought down to Babylon, returned to their cult centers."

No conclusions should be drawn from the fact that no regnal years are mentioned. There is no dividing line after line 24', so that the rest of the predictions or only the regnal years may have been written in col. III.

- III-V The columns III and IV, totalling ca. 100 lines, are lost. They must have contained predictions about the reigns of Cambyses, Smerdis, Darius I, Xerxes, Artaxerxes I, Darius II, Artaxerxes II and III, which is on average ca. 12 lines per rule.
- V.5 The king here presented is Arses, the son of Artaxerxes III Ochus. He ruled two years and was murdered by the eunuch Bagoas (Diodorus XVII.3.5-6). I assume that LUGAL.MEŠ here represents *šarrūtu*, as is the case with NUN.MEŠ in the Seleucid prophecy text LBAT 1543 obv.: 4': NUN 27 MU.MEŠ NUN.MEŠ DÙ-šú, "the prince will exercise rule ('princeship') for 27

years" (cf. Biggs 1967: 131). Whether Bagoas really was an eunuch is open to question. Ša *rēši* may simply mean "high royal official," but also "eunuch" (cf. CAD R, 292-6).

- 6-8 Darius III indeed ruled for five years. He was a rebel. He took, according to Diodorus XVII.5.3, the throne with the help of Bagoas, who, however, was murdered later by his own protégé. Whether the word 'rebel' is really in the break, is difficult to say. For Bagoas' role, compare Briant 2002: 774ff.
- 9-13 In line 11 Grayson copied a part of MEŠ and šú, but these signs do not exist (any more). There is a break in the tablet here.

The paragraph in question can only refer to Alexander and his Macedonian army. "The land of Hanī" is the 'archaic' or better 'literary' rendering of Macedon in late cuneiform texts (see comments on Text 3: 6'). Alexander is referred to as such in the *Astronomical Diaries* as "who is from the land of Hanī" (AD I: 191, no. -328 left edge). The only strange feature of the passage seems to be that Alexander is not mentioned in person (unless he was mentioned somewhere in the break!). I consider Geller's theory that Alexander the Great was skipped (Geller 1990: 5-7), and that Antigonos was meant here, unlikely. Alexander was too important a figure to be left out. It is odd to assume that Arses and Bagoas were more important for Babylonia, than Alexander. The phrase may refer either to the battle of Issus (333), or to the Battle of Gaugamela (1 October 331 BC), or to Alexander's victory over Darius in general.

- 20-21 Cf. the planetary omen K 229 rev. 18: KUR šá HUL IGI HÉ.NUN IGI, "the land that has seen misfortune, will see plenty" (Reiner 1998: 177). Also *Prophecy A*, II: 3 and III: 3 (Grayson & Lambert 1964: 12-13).
- 22 Cf. the astrological report of Munnabitū: ŠA-bi KUR DÜG.GA, "the heart of the land will be happy" (Hunger 1992: no. 318: 2) and *Prophecy A* II: 3 (Grayson & Lambert 1964: 12): ŠA KUR DÜG-ab. The phrase, however, is very common.
- 13-22 These lines are problematical and several solutions are offered to solve the problem. Grayson assumed that the lines refer to the Battle of Gaugamela (lines 9-13 to Issus), and that, surprisingly, Darius III is portrayed as the victor. For this unhistorical depiction of the Battle of Gaugamela Grayson admits he has no answer (BHLT: 26). He assumes it to be "unlikely that the defeat of the Hanaean is already part of a real prediction," since the traces of column VI "certainly seem to be describing three further reigns" (BHLT: 27, n. 14). That the lines refer to a fantasy success of Darius III against Alexander, however, has found wide acceptance (Sherwin-White 1987: 11; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 8-9; Ringgren 1983: 383; Marasco 1985; HEP: 883, 1076; Mehl 1999: 34; Scharrer 1999: 123). Consequently this text was interpreted as hostile to Alexander and favourable to Darius III.

This interpretation, however, must be erroneous, since the Prophecy correctly assigns five regnal years to Darius III; the scribe apparently did not expect a victory of Darius over Alexander. Hence, other interpretations must be considered. I shall return to the question below.

- VI.1-8 Hardly any doubt can be cast on the assumption that six lines are lost at the beginning. The traces of line 7 fit my restoration MU.AN.NA.MEŠ exactly. Part of AN (last vertical wedge), NA and MEŠ are visible. Unfortunately, we cannot be sure whose regnal years were recorded here. It cannot be excluded that it still concerned the future king discussed at the end of col. v. If real prediction started at v: 13, then the following reigns are fantasy reigns too.
- 9 Line 9 is hardly intelligible. It is strange that it seems to be a section between dividing lines of only one line. So it can hardly concern the reign of a future king. In addition, the preserved verb, *ud/tallalu*, is open to different interpretations. Grayson proposes D of *dalālu*, "to oppress" (CAD D 178; AHW 153, or *talālu*, AHW 1309, "hinstrecken;" Aramaic loanword *tll*, "umwerfen") or Dt of *elēlu* (CAD E 80-3; AHW 197-8), "to be purified". In this meaning, the word is used in the astral omen mentioned at the beginning of this article: "the son of the king will become purified for the throne but will not take the throne", above p. 294; ACh Suppl. 2 Sin 23a: 24 = Rochberg-Halton 1987b: 341 and 346: 61). This was actually the fate of Alexander's son Alexander IV.

The phrase may be taken as a parallel to I: 11', where it is used in the context of the end of Assyria and just before the rise of the new king: Nabopolassar (I: 12': [...] *ZI-am-ma*. In VI: 9 the word follows the end of a king and is followed by the rise of a new one (VI: 10: [... *ZI-]am-ma KUR DIB-bat*). Thus it is not a description of a reign at all, but a kind of prophecy for the later period, as in *Daniel* 12: 10: "many shall be purified, and made white, and tried." In *Daniel* it is a reference to the people who suffered under Antiochus IV's persecution (cf. 11: 35).

- 10-2 These lines cover the last predicted reign. It is a very short typology. Only basic information is given: someone "will set out and seize the land" and "they will rule" or "they will be extinguished." The problem of the last verb, *ibellu*, is that it can be derived from *bēlu*, "to rule" (said of kings and gods, and used frequently in apodoses of omen texts or in astrological reports [cf. Hunger 1992: nr. 318: 5], though normally spelled *ibelū* in the plural), but also from *balū*, "to become extinguished; to come to an end," which can be used to describe the end of a life, as in an Assyrian query for an oracle: "will Assurbanipal come to an end (*i-bal-la*) or will he escape from this rebellion?" (ABL 1368: rev. 1). If the word derives from *balū*, a spelling *i-bel-lu-ú* is to be expected, so that a derivation from *bēlu* must be preferred (suggestion M. Stol).

If this section is not a real prediction but a *vaticinium ex eventu*, it must refer to a king "who seized the land" after Alexander. Few kings or rebels fit this simple description. Only Antigonos and Seleucus are candidates. If "they will rule" is the correct interpretation of the last word, it could refer to the descendants of Seleucus ("his sons will rule the land").

- 13-5 Start of the colophon. This is the usual reference to the secret character of sacred texts. Compare Borger 1957-71: 188-91; Hunger 1968: 13-14. See also *Daniel* 12: 9, "and he said, Go thy away, Daniel: for the words are closed up and sealed till the time of the end."
- 16-8 If read correctly, the colophon seems to indicate that it is a single tablet, not the beginning of a larger series of tablets. In that case the expression would have been *pirsu reštu*, "first section" (cf. ABC chron. 1, IV: 39).

Munnabtum is a personal name, as was correctly observed by Grayson. But all interpreters failed to grasp the importance of this observation. Munnabtum is not a common name, and, as far as I know, it does not occur in any colophon or even main text of any other late Babylonian document. It is thus a very reasonable assumption to conclude that this Munnabtum is none other than the Babylonian astrologer Munnabitum of the 7th century, who is known as a reporter of astrological omens to Assyrian kings, probably Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal, and whom we mentioned in the introduction to this article as the interpreter of celestial omens (cf. Hunger 1992: 177-181). His language even reminds us of certain lines of the *Dynastic Prophecy* (see II: 10' and VI: 12). It would have been an attractive idea to put the words of the *Dynastic Prophecy* into the mouth of this Munnabitum. He must have been a man of some standing, perhaps a writer of omen texts, adviser of Assyrian kings, and thus able to make a prophecy starting with the fall of the Assyrian empire. I have tried out the assumption that Munnabtum was not the author, but the (mythical) ancestor of the author or scribe, but that proved impossible. It would mean that line 17' would contain a phrase like: [PN<sub>1</sub> A-šú šá (or: DUMU šá) PN<sub>2</sub> A<sup>III</sup>]*Mun-nab-tum*. But there is simply no room for this. It would require *ca.* 10 signs, but in view of the fact that the cuneiform signs of the name Munnabtum are stretched out, space for five or six signs is available at a maximum. My somewhat daring conclusion then is that Munnabtum is the 'Daniel' of the *Dynastic Prophecy*. Just as Daniel was a Jewish foreign diviner at the court of Babylonian and Persian kings, so Munnabitum was a Babylonian foreign diviner at the Assyrian court. Now, the connection between *Daniel* and the *Dynastic Prophecy* becomes even closer than assumed before. We may even ask whether the author of *Daniel* knew the *Dynastic Prophecy*, secret though it may have been. Despite the secrecy of the visions of Daniel until the end

of time, we nevertheless know them.<sup>12</sup> The rest of the colophon may refer to the owner or copyist of the tablet.

### *The Dynastic Prophecy, Babylonian wisdom and Alexander*

The *Dynastic Prophecy* belongs to a category of texts, which are descriptions of the reigns of unnamed kings cast in the form of predictions. There are several texts of this genre<sup>13</sup> and it is not my purpose here to treat this genre fully, particularly as a great variety of forms is distinguishable in it.<sup>14</sup> The prophecies are normally explained as *vaticinia ex eventu*, but it has often been very difficult to find historical circumstances for the predictions in question and this has led to quite a range of possible historical interpretations. One of the solutions proposed is that the prophecies may contain *vaticinia ex eventu* as well as real predictions, as in the case of the *Uruk Prophecy*, which contains 'historical' predictions about Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian kings up to Nebuchadnezzar II, but starts with real predictions concerning the latter's successor (Hunger & Kaufmann 1975: 374, rev. 16ff; Beaulieu 1993). The genre has a parallel in the biblical book of Daniel, which also contains prophecies about future kings and which also moves from *vaticinia ex eventu* into real prediction (in *Daniel* 11: 40ff.; cf. Lambert 1978). The *Dynastic Prophecy* is an exceptional case inasmuch as the question of which kings were intended here cannot raise any doubts, at least up to V: 13. Thus in this respect the *Dynastic Prophecy* has a closer link with *Daniel* 11 than with the other Akkadian prophecies.

Before arguing my case for the interpretation of the lines regarding Darius III and Alexander, I wish to look at the general concept of the *Dynastic Prophecy*.

It seems that the sphere of interest of the author is rather limited. His main interest was in the rise and fall of kings, and more specifically in the rise

<sup>12</sup> The name of Daniel, in turn, was adapted from the enigmatic ancient sage Daniel mentioned in *Ezekiel* 14: 14, 20; 28: 3 and known from Ugaritic texts. This does not matter very much, since in the book of Daniel he was simply a wise man at the court of Nebuchadnezzar.

<sup>13</sup> *Prophecy A* (Grayson & Lambert 1964: 9-10), the *Marduk and Shulgi Prophecies* (Borger 1971), and the *Uruk Prophecy* (Hunger 1976: 21-23; Hunger & Kaufman 1975; Beaulieu 1993).

<sup>14</sup> The prophecies have been discussed by Grayson & Lambert 1964 (with previous literature), Hunger & Kaufmann 1975, Höffken 1977/78, Ringgren 1983, Longman 1991 and others.

and fall of dynasties (cf. above p. 295). It is also found in the *Nabopolassar Epic* III: 5, "Bēl, in the assembly of the gods, [gave] the ruling-power to [Nabopolassar]" (BHLT 85). The idea can be retrieved from the recurrent use of verbs relating to rise and fall: *elû* (DU<sub>6</sub>.DU), "to rise" (II: 4', 11'; [V: 6]); *tebû* (ZI), "to set out" (I: 12', 13'; II: 17', 19'; V: 7, 10; VI: 10); *šabātu* (DIB), "to seize (the throne, land or sceptre)" (I: 17'; II: 17', 19'; V: 2, 7; VI: 13; cf. II: 9'); *dekû*, "to remove (from the throne)" (II: 18'); *sakāpu*, "to overthrow" (I: 8', 14', II: 5') and *sukuptu*, "the overthrow" (V: 17); *gamāru*, "to bring to an end" (I: 9'); *samāku*, "to remove(?)" (I: 19'); *naqāru*, "to tear down, to demolish" (I: 18').

The second point of interest is the question whether or not the king was powerful or not and really master of the land: II: 10', 14', 22'-23'; VI: 12(?). Furthermore the traditional qualities of good, or at least successful, kings are mentioned: securing booty and tribute (I: 20'; II: 23'; V: 12-13, 18-19) and building or restoration of temples (I: 21'-13'; II: 15').

The *Dynastic Prophecy* is usually considered to be an overview of "good" and "bad" kings, but that is only partly true. Most reigns are treated in neutral terms and merely depict rise and fall, and the question whether or not a king was powerful and controlled the land of Akkad. Only three or four kings receive value judgements *expressis verbis*. They are: Nabonidus ("He will plot evil against Akkad," II: 16'), Cyrus ("During his reign Akkad [will live] in security," II: 24') and the enigmatic king of later times, who will bring well-being and tax exemption to the country (V: 20-23). He is the only king of whom it is said that the gods will go at his side (V: 15-16). Other kings may be judged on the basis of what they did, taking into account the moral values of the ancient Babylonians: good kings bring in tribute and booty (from conquered countries; at home they give tax exemption) and are righteous (Neriglissar: "boundaries and b[orders] for his people he will c[onfirm]," II: 7'-8'), bad kings are weak or 'rebels.' According to these criteria Nabopolassar was good, Amel-Marduk was bad (he was a loser), Neriglissar good, Labashi-Marduk bad (he was not master of the land), Nabonidus was bad (a 'rebel'), Cyrus good (brought in tribute); Darius III bad (a 'rebel'(?), and a loser).

To summarise: Nabopolassar, Neriglissar, Cyrus, the future king are good and successful, the last Assyrian king, Nabonidus, Darius III are rebels and meet their doom. Though only a minor part of the prophecy is preserved and of some kings only incomplete predictions are extant, it seems that especially the founders of dynasties are considered good and successful, while the last rulers are understandably unsuccessful. Nabonidus was a special case: he started a new dynasty ("of Haran") and was successful ("he prevailed over [was stronger than] the country"), but was nevertheless driven out, since, it seems, "he plotted evil against Akkad." The evil he plotted cannot be something other than that he

neglected the cult of Marduk and promoted the cult of Sin, as we have seen above. So this verdict still prevailed in the Hellenistic period.

It seems to me that the purpose of this composition is to give a view and a homily on the vicissitudes of temporal power. Empires come and go, dynasties rise and fall. This fatalism is nicely encapsulated in the *Lamentation over the Fall of Ur*:

"Who has ever seen a reign of kingship that would take precedence (for ever)?  
The reign of its (sc. Ur's) kingship had been long indeed but had to exhaust itself.  
O my Nanna (moon god and patron deity of Ur), do not exert yourself (in vain),  
leave your city!"

(ANET 611ff; Michalowski 1989: ll. 368-370; cf. Kuhrt 1995: 72)

In classical literature it reminds us of the lamentation of Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus after his destruction of Carthage in 146 BC:

"After being wrapped in thought for long, and realizing that all cities, nations, and authorities must, like men, meet their doom; that this happened to Ilium, once a prosperous city, to the empires of Assyria, Media, and Persia, the greatest of their time, and to Macedon itself, the brilliance of which was so recent, ..."

(Appian, *Punica* 132 = Polybius XXXVIII.22.1-3)

But for the author of the *Dynastic Prophecy* it was not all blind fate which determined the success of a dynasty or a particular rule. A favourable policy towards Babylon, in particular regarding her temple and its cult, her right to tax exemption, and possibly also the recognition of the city as a, or the, central city of the empire, might appease the gods, Marduk foremost among them. But even this is no guarantee for long life and everlasting success. The gods decide freely.

Let us now return to the enigmatic end of the *Dynastic Prophecy* concerning the fate of Darius III and Alexander (v: 13ff.). The major crux seems to be: who was the subject of *ukaššarma*, "he will prepare for battle," in v: 14? The other big problem is "the overthrow of the Hanaean army" in line 17. In addition, the phrase in v: 18 "his extensive booty he will carry off" i.e. "he will carry off extensive booty from him" is ambiguous: from whom was it taken? The same holds true for "his palace" in line 19: whose palace was it?

Let us start with the first problem. Grayson (BHLT 26) argued that the subject of *ukaššarma* was Darius III. His argument was based on "the overthrow of the Hanaean troops," which could hardly have been effected by Alexander or any other Greek or Macedonian. Furthermore, the verb is given in the singular,

while a plural (subject: "the Hanaean troops") is expected. And, admittedly, Grayson has a point here. Nevertheless, I wish to argue that this point of view cannot be maintained for the following reasons:

1. It is simply not true. Darius III never defeated Alexander. One could answer to this, and it has been done, that such criticism is irrelevant. The composition is a prophecy, not history (Briant HEP: 883; *idem* 2002: 864). It could be propaganda or wishful thinking. Sherwin-White even points to the last Shah of Iran, who tried to deny the Greek domination of Persia after the Achaemenids (Sherwin-White 1987: 11; Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 8-9). But that is not a good comparison. The Shah did not deny the fact that Achaemenid rule came to an end; he saw no Persian victory over the Greeks, but only tried to ignore the Persian defeat. The *Dynastic Prophecy* is very accurate and the author did not distort the facts anywhere else.

2. The author, in fact, did not deny, but even expressly wrote, that Darius' rule came to an end after five years of reign. So he did not apparently reckon with the possibility of a victory of Darius over the Macedonians. Strangely, all commentators have overlooked this point.

3. The phrase *šillatsu kabittu*, "his(!) extensive booty" (thus in the singular, while a plural referring to the Hanaean troops would be required - in Akkadian idiom "his booty" always refers to the booty from whom it was taken) most likely refers to the king, who is mentioned earlier, i.e. Darius III.

4. The person who is the subject of lines 13-19 carries off booty and brings it into "his palace." If the person, who has the gods on his side and is thus judged favourably, were Darius III, he would bring back booty to "his palace" in Persepolis. Though the palace of Nebuchadnezzar in Babylon was still used occasionally by the Persian kings, the main treasury was in Persepolis and the palace of the Persian kings was in Persepolis or Susa rather than in Babylon.

5. As I have argued above: a defeat would not fit the general worldview of the author of the *Dynastic Prophecy*. The reign of Darius III fell under the curse of the gods, so that his kingship was taken away and given to someone else, who consequently could be assured of divine support.

If Darius III is not the subject of line 13-19, who else could it be? In my opinion two solutions remain, and I must confess that I am not able to choose between them. The first is, that it was Alexander the Great; the second is that in line 13 'real prediction' begins, so that no link with historical reality exists from that point on.

If Alexander was the successful king of v: 13-23, then he must be the subject of *ukaššarma* in line 14. The subject may be found at the end of line 13 as LUGAL ŠÚ, *šar kiššati*, "king of the world," as he is called in the astronomical diaries (Text 1, AD I: 179, no. -330, 'rev.' 11'). The point is that, in any interpretation, the scribe chose a new subject. The subject in the previous sentence

was plural and referred to the Hanaeans (Macedonians), the subject in line 13-14 is singular and refers either to the Hanaean king (which is a minor change) or, in Grayson's interpretation, to king Darius, who was the object in the previous sentence. The word order object – subject – verb is exceptional but not impossible. We see it in v: 5, "that king, a eunuch [will murder]." It is also attested in astronomical diary AD I: 179, no. -330 'obv.' 17, "the king (i.e. Darius III), his troops deserted him" (referring to the Battle of Gaugamela; Text 1), and in chronicle ABC chron. 7, II: 2, "Astyages, his army rebelled against him." This word order frequently occurs in the omen texts, with which the *Dynastic Prophecy* (as well as the *Astronomical Diaries*) has a close connection (Jeyes 1989: 41, quoting many examples, like *ummanam nakrum usannaq*, "the army, the enemy will subdue it," YOS 10 26 I: 26-27). So we could read here: "[His] arm[y, the king of the world] will assemble."

A favourable view of Alexander fits in with the cuneiform evidence concerning him. The four cuneiform records concerning Alexander discussed above do not fall into the category of royal inscriptions, which could be dismissed as propaganda. There is no hint of a negative view of Alexander. He is the foreign conqueror, but he respects the Babylonian rights and cults, as is especially clear from the astronomical diary (Text 1); he restores the temple of Anunitum and returns possessions to Esagila (Text 2); money is given by the palace for the rituals of Esagila (Text 3); people of the land give presents (Text 4).

There is more. A defeat of Darius was clearly portended by the irrefutable omen of a lunar eclipse (see the introduction above), and this must have appealed to the author of the *Dynastic Prophecy*. All the more reason why he would have predicted doom for Darius. After Gaugamela, possibly described in lines 9-13, further expeditions are treated as a long chain of success. The ruler in question organises his army (*kuššuru* does not mean "refit", as Grayson translates, but simply "to assemble, prepare for battle," CAD K 261b), the gods are on his side ("at Babylon too he met the Chaldaeans, and carried out all their recommendations on the Babylonian temples, and in particular sacrificed to Bēl, according to their instructions," Arr., *Anab.* III.16.5), his expedition seems to have gone to the ends of the earth, and he indeed carried off extensive booty. This all fits Alexander very well. He took the Persian treasury and brought it after his expedition into his palace, i.e. the palace of Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon.<sup>15</sup> Alexander himself could have been viewed as a new Nebuchadnezzar. Though he did not grant a general tax exemption to the Babylonians (he left

<sup>15</sup> Alexander first conveyed the treasury of Persepolis to Ecbatana and left Harpalus in charge of it (Arr., *Anab.* III.19.7); later Harpalus took up his residence in Babylon (cf. Bosworth 1988: 243).

Asclepiodorus to collect the taxes, Arr., *Anab.* III.16.4), he allowed the Babylonian temples to collect their tithes. He may well have given tax-exemptions to members of the *kiništu* (temple council), as was later done by Antiochus III in Jerusalem.

The prophecy about Alexander's reign probably continued in col. VI. There is plenty of room for discussing his plans to rebuild the Babylonian temples and his fateful end: the king's sudden death. The paragraph then closed with the number of regnal years (VI: 7-8). Alexander is then no exception to the rule that the exact number of regnal years is recorded.

It should be noted that even successful and apparently blessed kings may die suddenly. *Prophecy A* records an extremely favourable reign in the same wording as our prophecy: "the land will rest secure, the heart of the land will be happy, the people [will enjoy] prosperity, the gods will ordain good things for the land," etc., etc, but the paragraph ends with: "but that prince will be put to the sword in a revolution;" (first side II: 2-8; Grayson & Lambert 1964: 12,14). In the omen mentioned in the introduction (p. 294) the king's luck "does not run out," nonetheless he reigns only 8 (var. 16) years.

Line VI: 9 is unintelligible, but can hardly describe a specific reign. It may in one line refer to the troubles of the succession. Line 10 may then refer to Seleucus, who "took" the land in 311 BC. The complete text may be then something like: "[later a king/prince will set] out and seize the land. [For x years he will exercise kingship. After him his descendants] will rule [the country]." The end, in this interpretation, resembles the end of the *Uruk Prophecy*, which is dated to the early Seleucid period by Beaulieu: "After him a king, his son, will arise in Uruk and rule the four quarters. He will exercise [ruler]ship and kingship in Uruk. His dynasty will endure for ever. [The king]s of Uruk will exercise rulership like the gods" (Beaulieu 1993: 44). Beaulieu sees in this phrase a hint at the emerging divine aspects of Hellenistic kingship. It may be found here too, in the exceptional divine support for the king in v: 15-16, which fits Alexander's aspirations.

How then should we interpret "the overthrow of the Hanaean army"? This is indeed a stumbling block to my interpretation and I must resort to extreme measures to remove it. The only solution is to assume a scribal error. I admit that this is a hazardous procedure, but it can be defended. The text contains more errors: there are at least three erasures (II: 10', 15'; v: 16) and two mistakes (II: 9, 19). In v: 17 the scribe omitted the determinative KUR ("land") before *Ha-ni-i*, although he used it in v: 9. My suggestion is that the scribe intended to write *Gu-ti-i* ("Gutians") instead of *Ha-ni-i* ("Hanaeans"). It would then refer to Alexander's victory over the Persian army. Gutians normally mean people living in Iran and further east and the term often occurs in chronicles and diaries as an archaizing term for eastern armies. Alexander's

campaigns were indeed an astonishing success. He came back to Babylon with an enormous amount of booty "from him," i.e. the treasures of the Persian king, i.e. Darius III. If Hani is replaced by Guti, the text does not raise any problems, while in every other interpretation inconsistencies remain.

An interpretation which follows the course of events even more closely would be as follows: V: 9-13 refers to the Battle of Issus, 13-19 to the battle of Gaugamela, which was actually Grayson's original idea, though he assumed that the author intended to describe a Macedonian defeat here (BHLT 26). The points in favour of this reconstruction is that Gaugamela was a victory of Alexander over the Gutian *troops*. King Darius was saved, he escaped to the East; this explains the fact that the prophecy only speaks about a victory over troops, not about the destiny of the king. The immediate result was that Alexander had a favourable entry into Babylon, which would then be described in lines 19-23: he brought his spoils to the palace of Nebuchadnezzar and Alexander had a friendly reception in Babylon. Here the text breaks off. In this interpretation, in the following 25 or more lines of column V and VI: 1-8 Alexander's campaign to India could have been described and his return to Babylon, which brought him doom.

Another emendation of the text one could propose is: *su-kup-tu* <sup>16</sup>ERÍN.MEŠ <<sup>16</sup>ha-ni-i 'i'-[šak-kan], "the overthrow of armies the Hanaean (=Alexander) will bring about." This would conform to certain apodoses of liver omens: *su-kup-tu* ERÍN.MEŠ GAR-an, "he will bring about the overthrow of armies," or: "the overthrow of armies will be brought about" (BRM IV 12: 73; cf. CAD S s.v. *sukuptu*) and would fit the context which actually is a chain of omen apodoses. <sup>16</sup>Ha-ni-i as singular seems ungrammatical, but is attested in ABC chron. 13A (now joined BM 32310+32398+32384; cf. Glassner 1993: no. 36) obv. 12': ... ana 1-en <sup>16</sup>Ha-n[i]-[e], "to one (= a certain) Hanaean." Nevertheless, this interpretation is forced and not very likely.

If we wish to avoid assuming a scribal error, we have to consider whether another person was indicated, such as Seleucus I, as was advocated by Geller (1990) and Del Monte (2001: 146). The idea seems at first sight interesting. Seleucus defeated the 'Hanaean' troops of Antigonus, he was enormously successful, was seemingly popular in Babylonia and during his reign prices returned to a normal level (Sherwin-White 1987: 15; Van der Spek 2000: 294). However, many objections can be made.

The proposed reconstruction would present us with a strange transition from the defeat of Darius III in 331-330 BC to Seleucus' victory over Antigonus in 311-308 BC. In Geller's reconstruction Alexander is even skipped. The defeat of Antigonus would be mentioned without first introducing the contender. The phrase "his booty" in line 18 would then refer to Antigonus, which is impossible

in this context. It would also mean that Alexander was not given regnal years, while lesser kings such as Neriglissar and Arsaces have theirs carefully noted. Finally, all new kings, and certainly kings who overthrew their predecessors, are introduced with verbs like *tebû* ("to set out"), *elû* ("to rise"). Nothing of the sort is here, unless the verb *kuššuru*, "to assemble, to prepare for battle," serves this purpose. Furthermore, *arkānu* does not mean "later" in the sense of "in a much later period," but rather: "(immediately) afterward" (cf. CAD A II: 273), "danach" (AHw 1467).

Other objections are, to my mind, the fact that "the overthrow of the Hanaean army" (V: 17) can, in the context of this section, only refer to the Hanaean troops of V: 9, the troops of Alexander. Furthermore, the Babylonians knew very well that Seleucus was himself a Macedonian and that Macedon was "his land" (ABC chron. 13: rev. 3, cf. Briant 1994: 463-6). Thus the introduction of Seleucus at this point necessitates a contrived interpretation of the paragraph.

If the prophecy continued with *vaticinia ex eventu*, then it is hard to see which king was intended in VI: 10-12. After Seleucus no one before the Parthians attacked and seized the land. Or is this the first 'predicted king'? If so, it would be a poor apotheosis of only three lines.

I shall now turn to my second solution, for which it is not necessary to assume a scribal error or emendation, rather the prophecy starts here with real prediction and now turns to the gist of the composition. It would be a reminder to the newly installed dynasty from the land of Hani, that like the dynasties of Assyria, Elam (Persia), Haran (Nabonidus), 'later (but soon!)' this new power will also reach its end. A new king will come, destroy the Hanaean army and take "his" (this must be Alexander's) booty. The future king will inaugurate a happy period for Akkad. The prophecy discusses his reign at length, continuing into column VI. Respect for the Babylonian rituals, rebuilding of the temples will have been the content of these lines.<sup>16</sup>

A further argument in favour of the idea that we are now dealing with real prediction, is the bombastic language, which is used from now on. While the former reigns were treated in a rather flat and dry manner, now for the first time the favour of the gods is expressly mentioned and lines 18-22 are literal quotations from omens. For many years to come this unknown king will

<sup>16</sup> One might consider the idea that Bessos was seen as the destroyer of the Hanaean troops. If my interpretation of chronicle 8 (Text 3) is correct, Bessos was indeed known in Babylon. Yet, on the other hand, it is hard to see why Bessos would have enjoyed so much credit in Babylon.



exercise kingship (VI: 7-8). Here the ideal king is portrayed, and the message may be that Alexander can avoid his fate if he will act likewise. The remaining lines are difficult to explain, due to their fragmentary state of preservation. As argued above, VI: 9 cannot refer to any specific reign, and VI: 11-12 must be one more fantasy reign.

The idea of a real prediction was also advocated by Marasco, but in his view the prediction concerns Darius III. Marasco proposed two dates for the composition of the prediction: between Issus in 333 BC and Gaugamela in 331 BC (1985: 533), and after Gaugamela (*ibid.* 533ff.). But, as I argued above, Darius' five years reign came to an end after Gaugamela when Alexander entered Babylon. Hence, only the second option remains. But even if the prophecy were written in the brief time span between October 331 and July 330 (Darius' death) it is very unlikely that the author would have ascribed five years of reign to Darius, when he expected him to recover Babylonia. Thus I sympathize with his theory of real prediction, but it must concern an as yet unknown saviour and could have been written at any point up to June 323 BC.

The idea of the real prediction has been rejected, since "three further reigns" were assumed to follow (BHLT 27, n. 14; cf. Sherwin-White & Kuhrt 1993: 8f.). I do not understand the argument. It may well be that more reigns followed in the lost beginning of col. VI, but in the preserved section only one more reign was pointed to, and that in rather vague terms (II. 10-12). This reign may be fictive as well. The description of the venerated future king may well have continued into col. VI: 8.

This interpretation leaves a number of questions open. Why was Alexander not given regnal years, while later kings were allotted them? How do we have to interpret *šillatsu*, "his booty," where "their booty" is required? Why refer to a next king "who will seize the land" following the predicted destroyer of the Hanaean army?

If, notwithstanding the problems mentioned above, the latter interpretation is correct, then the *Dynastic Prophecy* is negative for Alexander, or at least a warning. The ironical thing is, that while the cuneiform sources are not specifically negative about him, we have to turn to the classical sources for a negative Babylonian view of Alexander. It is they who report that 'Chaldaeans' (i.e. Babylonian astrologers and other diviners) predicted doom for Alexander, when he returned from his expedition to the East. It is reported by several classical authors (App., *Bella Civilia* II.153; Arr., *Anab.* VII.16.5-18.6; Curt. X.4.6; Diod. XVII.112; Just. XII.13.3ff; Plut., *Alex.* 73) that Chaldaeans went to meet him in order to prevent him from entering Babylon since by their divination they had learned that Alexander would die in Babylon. The *Dynastic Prophecy* may have been precisely this prediction. The point is, however, that

the classical sources do not breathe one word about a predicted (Babylonian) contender who would defeat Alexander's army and become king. They only predict Alexander's death in Babylon, while the Prophecy expressly avoids speaking of Alexander's death (although it may be implied). The discrepancy may be explained by the fact that the Greek authors wrote with the hindsight that Alexander *did* die in Babylon, and that they interpreted the Babylonian prediction accordingly.

Of the versions the classical sources present about the Chaldaean prediction, the one of Diodorus (XVII.112) is the most interesting. Diodorus probably derived his story from Nearchus, Alexander's fleet commander, who wrote a history of Alexander's campaigns. Diodorus is the only one to give a name to the leader of the Chaldaean delegation: Belephantes (XVII.112.3). Belephantes is evidently a corrupted name influenced by Greek popular etymology: *Bel* + *elephas* (-ntos) and personal names like Bellerophon and Diophantos. Nevertheless, it seems not to be off the mark to recognize here the Babylonian name Bēl-apla-iddin. As a matter of fact, we do know a Babylonian astronomer with this name who lived and worked in this very period. The diary of month I-VI of the second year of Philip (April–September 322 BC) was written by Bēl-apla-iddin, the son of Mušallim-Bēl, descendant of Mušeziḫu (AD I: 228-9, no. -321 'rev.' 27'). The same astronomer (or his brother) may have been mentioned in AD I: 202-3, no. -324A 'rev.' 15, as writer of the diary of month I-VI of the twelfth year of Alexander (April–September 325 BC). Bēl-apla-iddin is also known as the scribe or copyist of a Babylonian model for Venus and a procedure text for Mercury (Britton & Walker 1991: 110-111). The Mušeziḫu family was still active in astrology and astronomy more than two hundred years later (Van der Spek 1985: 548-555).

Diodorus is also fairly exact in describing the work of these Chaldaeans, "who have gained a great reputation in astrology and are accustomed to predict future events by a method based on age-long observations" (διὰ δέ τινος αἰωνίου παρατηρήσεως). Now the Greek word, τήρησις is a literal translation of the Babylonian word *našāru*, meaning "watch, observation," esp. "astronomical observation" (cf. CAD N II, 38-39 sub 5a). Diodorus uses this word also in his description of the Chaldaean profession in book I.28 (cf. II.30.2, 31.9). It is also used by Simplicius (*In Cael* II.12 [ad Arist., *De Caelo* 293a4]; see Heiberg (ed.) 1894: 506), when he wrote, quoting Porphyrius, that Aristotle asked his nephew Callisthenes to send him the Babylonian astronomical observations. Bēl-apla-iddin/Belephantes may have become a name known in Greece as well.

Secondly, the content of the prophecy is interesting. The leader of the Chaldaean delegation, Belephantes, did not dare to address the king himself, but secured a private audience with Nearchus, who later communicated the Chaldaean prophecy to Alexander (cf. Plut., *Alex.* 73). The prophecy was that

they had learned "by the prophetic power (*manteia*) of the stars (...) of the coming end of the king in Babylon" (Diod. XVII.112.2). They urged upon the king "that he must under no circumstances make his entry into the city; that he could escape the danger if he re-erected the tomb of Belus which had been demolished by the Persians and must abandon his intended route and pass by the city."<sup>17</sup> And Alexander did so: he sent most of his friends (*philoï*) into the city, himself passing by, and set up his headquarters in a camp at a distance of two hundred stades (ca. 40 km), probably to the south on the west side of the Euphrates (Plut., *Alex.*, 73). This is confirmed by Justin XII.13.4, who states that Alexander took up his quarters at Borsippa. However, upon the advice of the philosopher Anaxarchus (Diod. XVII.112.6; cf. Just. XII.13.5) he later disregarded the advice of the Chaldaeans and entered Babylon with his army. One advice of the Chaldaeans Alexander heeded: he ordered his troops to work as hard as possible on the removal of the debris of the temple (possibly the temple tower, the *ziggurat*, misunderstood by Diodorus as the tomb of Bēl) in order to facilitate its reconstruction. The favourable reception of the king seems to be confirmed by our Text 4: 5', where mention is made of "numerous gifts of the people of the land."

Arrian provides a somewhat different account. After his campaign against the Cossaeans in the winter of 324/3 (Arr., *Anab.* VII.15.1-3), Alexander turned towards Babylon. "And when Alexander crossed the Tigris with his army on his march towards Babylon, he was met there (ἐνταῦθα) by the Chaldaean scholars, who drew him aside from the companions and begged him to stop the march to Babylon; it is said that they had an oracle from their god Bēl that his entry into Babylon would do him no good." When Alexander declined, the Chaldaeans advised him not to look to the West and not to enter the city facing that direction, but rather to make a detour in order to make an approach facing East, thus entering the city through a gate in the western part of the city (Arr., *Anab.* VII.16.5-7).<sup>18</sup> This would mean that Alexander could have entered

<sup>17</sup> Belephantes' visit to Nearchus might well have been the origin of the legend that Xerxes destroyed the Babylonian temples, for which there is no cuneiform, nor any archaeological evidence, nor any support in Herodotus (cf. Kuhrt & Sherwin-White 1987). Belephantes may have tried to provoke a positive attitude in Alexander, by stressing that the Persians, the defeated enemy, had destroyed the ziggurat, which apparently needed repair, and that Babylon had suffered the same fate as Athens. Finally, it is to be noted that Xerxes was killed two months after a lunar eclipse (Walker 1997: 21).

<sup>18</sup> The passage was rightly understood by Smelik (1979: 93-94), but misunderstood by Brunt in his translation in the Loeb Classical Library (1976: 259 n. 5 ad VII.16.5) and

through the 'King's Gate,' a gate which may possibly have been a favourable gate in view of Alexander's royal status (cf. George 1992: 24, 141 for the most recent maps). According to Aristobulus (Arr., *Anab.* VII.17.5-6), Alexander did indeed try to follow this advice and enter the western sector of the city, but was prevented from doing so by the marshy conditions of the soil. He had the Euphrates on his right hand, so moved along the Euphrates northwards trying to wheel in a westernly direction in order to be able to turn round and enter Babylon looking eastwards. The region southwest of Babylon, between Borsippa and Babylon, was indeed marshy and full of pools (cf. Cole 1994: 96). So it was not primarily the advice of the Greek philosopher which changed Alexander's mind, but the condition of the country.

In sum: all testimonies point to only one possible conclusion: Alexander crossed the Tigris, was met by the 'Chaldaeans,' passed Babylon by, crossed the Euphrates and took up his headquarters at Borsippa, stayed there for a time, then tried to enter Babylon on the western side, but was prevented from doing so by the marshy conditions between Borsippa and Babylon, so crossed the Euphrates again and entered Babylon through a gate on the east bank of the Euphrates. The Ishtar Gate on the northeast side would be the normal way giving access to the Processional Road leading to the palace and the temple, but it could also have been the Marduk Gate, the Zababa Gate or the Urash Gate. Whether or not Anaxarchus' advice influenced Alexander's decision is hard to say.

A more important difference between Diodorus and Arrian concerns the motives ascribed to the Chaldaeans and their attitude towards the rebuilding of

Bosworth (1988: 168), who thought that the Chaldaeans advised the king to enter Babylon on the eastern side, which would have been nothing special, since Alexander was coming from the East. But Appian's version (*Bella Civilia* II.153) is very clear: Alexander was advised not to look to the setting sun when entering Babylon. Perhaps the setting sun mentioned by Appian was even more ominous to Alexander than the Babylonian astrologers knew, because there is a possibility that the sun was the heraldic symbol of the Macedonian royal house. This cannot be proved, but there are two pieces of evidence that point in this direction. In the first place, we should note that Perdikkas, the legendary founder of the Argead dynasty, claimed a special relationship to the sun (Hdt. VIII.137). In the second place, the symbol variously known as the 'star of Vergina' or the 'sun of Vergina,' must really be a representation of the sun. A close and almost contemporary iconographic parallel is the coinage of Uranopolis on the Athos peninsula, a town that was founded (between 316 and 300 BC) by Cassander's younger brother Alexarchus, who called himself Helios (Mørkholm 1991: 60, fig. 75). Finally, it should be remembered that Alexander claimed to be the son of the Egyptian sun god Ra (pers.comm. Jona Lendering).

Esagila. In Arrian's version the Chaldaeans tried to avoid the rebuilding of the temple tower, because they allegedly feared that their income from the temple estates would be used for this undertaking. In Diodorus' version it is the other way around: the Chaldaeans urged Alexander to rebuild Babylon, by which pious deed he could avoid his fate. The last interpretation is more in line with the cuneiform tradition: kings are always urged to maintain the temples and kings are portrayed favourably if they do so. This is especially so in the description of the ideal king in the *Uruk Prophecy* (Hunger & Kaufman 1975: 374, rev. 14). This is also true for Alexander, as we have seen above. He did his utmost to restore Esagila by setting 10,000 soldiers to the task (Strabo XVI.1.5).

Alexander may have been suspicious of the Chaldaeans, but the story might equally well reflect the general suspicions of the Greeks towards Orientals and the Greek discussions about the value of divination (see the advice of Anaxarchus). It occurs to me that Alexander was not a particularly fine example of Greek rational thinking; rather he was a person impressed with the divine element in the cosmos, in history, and in his own person. His view of Babylonian divination is aptly expressed by Plutarch: "and his court was thronged with diviners and priests whose business was to sacrifice and purify and foretell the future" (*Alex.* 75). In this he was a true successor to the Assyrian and Babylonian kings. That Alexander took them seriously is also apparent from his behaviour: he made a difficult detour around Babylon and settled first in Borsippa in order to obey the instructions of the Chaldaeans. And even Anaxarchus may have acknowledged the validity of the predictions of the Chaldaeans when he was drinking to Alexander's health while mocking Alexander's divinity: "one of the gods shall be struck by a mortal hand" (Diog. Laert. IX.60, quoting Eur., *Orestes* v. 271).

Thus, my first inclination is to take the astrologers seriously. Could they not really have seen signs in the sky that might predict doom for Alexander?

As we saw in the introduction, lunar eclipses were considered important omens. From Assyrian scholarly literature and practice we know that lunar eclipses were so ominous that only these were dangerous enough to necessitate the performance of the substitute king ritual. Though the Assyrian experts thought that the ritual was needed in the case of eclipses of the planets (planets covered by the moon) as well, they are only reported in the case of lunar eclipses and indeed only in those instances in which the position of the planets was dangerous too, such as the absence of Jupiter (Parpola 1983: xxii). And since we may assume that a substitute king ritual was organised by the 'Chaldaeans' in Alexander's palace, we should expect a lunar or solar eclipse to have occurred in the spring of 323.

At first sight the Chaldaeans do not seem to have had a very good case. The last lunar eclipse in Babylon took place on 8 May 324 BC (14 Iyyar = II),

the last solar eclipse on 23 May 324 BC (29 Iyyar, i.e. exactly one Babylonian lunar year before Alexander's death<sup>19</sup> and that is too early. The fate portended by the eclipse was to befall the king within 100 days from the occurrence of the eclipse (Parpola 1983: xxv).<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, the rules were not always adhered to so strictly. Some omens are supposed to be fulfilled within one year (see below). The eclipses of moon and sun on 14 and 29 Iyyar 324 BC must have impressed the Babylonian astrologers and they may have gathered that their fulfilment awaited the king's return to Babylon. The *Babylonian Astrological Calendar* portends for a lunar eclipse on 14 Iyyar: "The King of the World (LUGAL ŠÚ) will die, his reign (dynasty) will end" (Labat 1965: §74: 5), and for a solar eclipse in Iyyar: ["the kin]g, his days will be short. The land will eat abundant food" (Labat 1965: §81: 1). Note that Alexander was styled "King of the World" in the astronomical diary (Text 1). The omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil* foretells for a lunar eclipse in Iyyar in the evening watch (as was the case in 324 BC): "the king will die and the sons of the king will vie for the throne of their father, but will not sit on it" (*Enūma Anu Enlil* 17 §II: 1; Rochberg-Halton 1988a: 127).

Be that as it may, these omens had not come true yet, but signs to come might confirm them. It may well be that the Chaldaeans *expected* new solar eclipses on 12 April and 12 May 323 BC. On these days partial eclipses did take place, but they turned out not to be visible in Babylonia. Babylonian astronomers were able to predict eclipses, but they could make minor mistakes, as is evident from the diaries. One example is on the 29th of Elul (= VI) 331 BC, i.e. five days after the battle of Gaugamela, a solar eclipse was expected: "Night of the 29th, solar eclipse which was omitted; (it was expected for) about 1° night after sunset" (AD I: 177, no. -330, 'obv.' 12'). It was indeed a minor mistake: a solar eclipse did take place, but it could be watched in Greenland and North America, not in Babylonia.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Steele & Stephenson 1997/98; Steele 2000b; see also n. 2 above.

<sup>20</sup> According to some theories the term for the fulfilment could be extended: 100 days for an eclipse observed in the first watch, 200 days for the second and 300 days for the third, i.e. morning watch (cf. Koch-Westenholz 1995: 104ff). This conforms more or less to Greek theories: Hephaestion *Apotelesmatica* 1.21.9, "if an eclipse occurs in the East and lasts for three hours until it clears, the indicated things will occur when three months have passed after the eclipse; if the eclipse occurs from the 4th hour and lasts for two hours till it clears, the indicated things will occur when six months have passed; and until the 12th hour, similarly, a year is decided upon" (Rochberg-Halton 1988a: 43 n. 53). The lunar eclipse of 8 May 324 BC, however, took place in the first watch, just after sunset.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Steele 2000a and n. 2 above.

Now, the solar eclipse expected on 12 May = 29 Nisan is particularly interesting in view of the omen connected with it in the *Babylonian Astrological Calendar*: "if in the [month Nisan the sun] establishes an eclipse: in that year the king will die and the land, which had seen evil, will see happiness (KUR ŠÁ HUL IGI SIG<sub>5</sub> IGI)" (Labat 1965: §81: 1). The remarkable feature of this omen is that it combines bad luck for the king with happiness for the land, nearly exactly in the phraseology of the *Dynastic Prophecy* (v: 17, 20-21: the overthrow of the Hanaean army, which might refer to Alexander, and happiness in the country).

The Babylonian scholars could also have expected a complete lunar eclipse. On 28 April (16 Nisan) 323 BC a full eclipse took place, but was not visible in Babylon. The same calendar produces startling omens again: "if in the month Nisan [the moon], at his first appearance, is eclipsed, there will be hostilities<sup>2</sup>, the king of the world (LUGAL ŠÚ) will die" (Labat 1965: § 75: 1). And: "if, in the month Nisan, the moon is darkened, the king of Akkad will die" (Labat 1965: §76: 1). Note that the 'Chaldaeans' prophesied that Alexander would die in Babylon, the residence of the king of Akkad.

Later in the year solar and lunar eclipses could be seen in Babylonia: on 7 October (28 Elul = VI) a partial solar eclipse in Libra, which is recorded in the diaries (AD I: 209, no. -322 A 'rev.' 13'), and on 21 October (13/VII) a full lunar eclipse in Taurus (diary lost). These phenomena could also be computed and they confirm remarkably the prediction of the 29th *ahu* tablet of *Enūma Anu Enlil* mentioned in the introduction to this article (p. 294), which portended the defeat of Darius III by a prince from the West who would be extremely successful, but reign only eight years. These eight years would end in October 323. The partial solar eclipse took place eight Babylonian years and four days after the battle of Gaugamela and the lunar eclipse eight years and one or two days after Alexander's entry into Babylon. So if the Chaldaean astronomers knew this tablet (as they certainly did – they learned them by heart at school), they would fear that Alexander had only half a year to live when he returned to Babylon.

It is well known that the officials started prophylactic rituals against eclipses before the occurrence of the phenomenon, even on occasions when the sign 'was omitted.' This happened for instance in the 8th year of Cyrus in Larsa, when a kettledrum ritual was executed at an inappropriate time (Beaulieu & Britton 1994). The ritual from the Seleucid period for the observance of eclipses also starts before the eclipse begins (BRM IV, no. 6; Linssen 2002: 313; Brown & Linssen 1997).

Thus it may well be that the Chaldaeans advised Alexander to stay out of Babylon until after 28 April or 12 May, until the omens had manifested themselves. Apparently the omens were considered especially dangerous if Alexander were to enter Babylon or reside in Babylon. Some omens concerned

doom for the king of Akkad. Thus the policy of the Chaldaeans was to keep Alexander out of the city. When he, despite their efforts, took up residence in Nebuchadnezzar's palace, they had to resort to the second strategy: the performance of the substitute king ritual, which according to Arrian took place shortly before his death (*Anab.* VII.24.1; for the ritual see Smelik 1978/79: 100-7.). The story is poorly understood by the Greek authors, but Diodorus again seems to have the best interpretation: "Alexander referred the portent to the seers for interpretation and put the man to death in accordance with their judgment, hoping that the trouble which was forecast by his act might light upon the man's own head." (Diod. XVII.116.4). It may well be that the incident took place on May 12th, the day of the expected solar eclipse.

It should also be remembered that omens other than solar or lunar eclipses could foretell the death of a king. Conjunctions of the moon and planets were also dangerous, but none took place in the spring of 323 BC. However, the series *Enūma Anu Enlil* contained 70 tablets, which are not all extant and not all the extant are published. I have not investigated fully the possibility of other evil omens, but a few examples may be interesting.

"If Venus in month Iyyar (II) becomes visible in the West and ditto (= and the Great Twins and Little Twins, all four of them, surround her and she is dimmed): the king of Akkad will fall ill and not recover" (tablet 59/60 II: 14; Reiner 1998: 126). Alexander died from illness on the last day of month II. However, Venus had her latest first visibility in the West around 2 August 324 BC, when she was in Leo. In Iyyar 323 BC she was in Aries (courtesy M. Ossendrijver). Though Alexander died from illness in Iyyar, the astral constellation did not portend it.

"If Mars comes close to Jupiter, in that year the king will die" and "if Mars comes close to Venus, in that year within six months the king of the world will die" (Swerdlow 1998: 14). On 16 August 324 BC, Mars came close to Jupiter (0.6°) at sunrise, which could mean that Alexander had to die before 1 Nisan = 14 April 323. But on 30 December 331 BC Mars also came close to Jupiter and on 20 November 331 BC Mars approached Venus to 1°, yet Alexander, king of the world, survived.

If one takes the regularity of eclipses and other evil omens into account, it is a miracle that kings could survive at all. It is indeed surprising to see how often in Neo-Assyrian times substitute kings were installed: 679 (twice), 677, 674, 671 (twice), 669 (twice) (Parpola 1993: xxiii).

Thus the Chaldaean astrologers seem to have had ample opportunity to foretell the death of the king. They may well have been honest, but manipulation cannot be excluded. It is hard to see what advantage the postponement of Alexander's arrival could have brought to the Babylonian scholars. It seems to me that the most probable solution is to assume that they

really feared the solar and lunar eclipses of April and May 323, a year after actually attested eclipses which awaited fulfilment. They used it to exhort Alexander to deploy his troops for clearing the site of Etemenanki, the temple tower. By acting like a good Babylonian king and by accepting performance of the ritual of the substitute king Alexander might avert the destinies ordained by the gods, prolong his reign and prevent "the overthrow of the Hanaean army."

I should like to point out one oddity. The Babylonian New Year Festival (1-11 Nisan) took place 14-24 April 323 BC. There is not a single hint in our sources that Alexander took part in the ceremonies. If Alexander had fulfilled his duties, it would certainly have been mentioned. How should we interpret this? A variety of solutions to the problem are possible. The first is that Alexander arrived only after 24 April 323. This would mean that Alexander's stay in Babylon lasted a maximum of seven weeks. Alexander might have waited until 28 April, as suggested above. Another solution may be that the substitute king, who was ritually the real king, did the honours. Finally, one might consider the possibility that the physical participation of the king in the ritual had fallen into abeyance.

#### *Conclusion: Alexander in Babylon*

The Babylonian texts here presented are products of Babylonian scholarship. They are part of the Babylonian tradition of record keeping. The main concern of this scholarship was divination and record keeping served that purpose. It was a scientific undertaking and it had virtually nothing to do with depicting popular feeling. If value judgements occur, as in the *Dynastic Prophecy*, they reflect the view of Babylonian scholars, not of the man in the street. The Babylonian scholars were keen to preserve the temple and its rituals and they wanted to pursue their science. Alexander seems not to have had the intention to hinder their activities; on the contrary, I would say. This attitude emerges from the cuneiform as well as from the classical sources.

When the scholars predicted the end of Alexander on the basis of the stars, as reported by many classical authors and possibly by the *Dynastic Prophecy*, they need not have been negative about his policy. Even good kings could be stuck by divine wrath. It was their job to try to avert the destiny ordained by the gods; and they fulfilled it, though to no avail. On the other hand, at no time in history have scholars been unbiassed and free from interpreting things to their own advantage. They will have used their predictions for their own ends, in this case using Alexander's army to restore the temple tower. And even this can be viewed as a disinterested advice. If one wishes to appease the gods, what better remedy is there than to provide for their temples?

It was not very difficult to get Alexander to do that; it had been his policy in Egypt (Hölbl 1994: 9ff., 69ff.) as well. The scholars may well have hoped that Alexander would make Babylon again the capital of an empire and thus revive the reign of Nabopolassar. That, too, might have been the message of the *Dynastic Prophecy*.

The opinion of Babylon's population remains a mystery for us, but we can make an educated guess. The change of dynasty will not have bothered them very much, if it could take place without bloodshed. Alexander's warm welcome by the Babylonian population may indeed have been orchestrated (Kuhrt 1990a). It is conceivable, though, that Alexander's conquest gradually became more an object of regret. The Greek governors Asclepiodorus and Harpalus were probably resented. They exacted high taxes. Harpalus emptied the treasuries to please his concubines. The garrison acted as a drain upon the food resources. As mentioned earlier, prices were extremely high under Alexander. The Babylonians may have welcomed Alexander again after his arrival from the East, since it meant Harpalus' departure. But they soon learned that the arrival of Alexander's troops in spring 323 aggravated the situation. His enormous army had to be fed.<sup>22</sup> After his entry, Alexander planned gargantuan projects such as the erection of a gigantic funeral pyre for Hephaestion, for which part of the city and city wall were demolished. He built a big fleet and a big harbour for his expensive expedition into Arabia. He destroyed the *katarraktai*, a kind of barrier, on the river Tigris for military purposes (Briant 1986). The people may well have longed for the overthrow of the 'Hanaean' army. Last but not least: it must have been very awkward to have a beardless king. Babylonian kings always had beards and beardless persons were normally servants, eunuchs. Alexander must have seemed very effeminate in the eyes of the Babylonians. The Babylonians will not have been impressed by Greek civilization.

And Alexander? His private thoughts remain hidden for us. We can only judge what he did, not what he thought. It was his policy to respect local traditions. He did so in Lydia (Arr., *Anab.* I.17.6), in Egypt (III.1.4f.), Tyre (II.24.6) and elsewhere. It is a normal policy pursued by conquerors. He had the example of Sargon II and Cyrus as regards Babylon. Though the policy is well attested, it is not self-evident. A king like Sennacherib showed little respect for Babylonian traditions from the outset of his reign (Van der Spek 1983). Alexander's policy must have pleased the Babylonian temple authorities and scholars, at least initially. Nonetheless, Alexander was no democrat. He was an

<sup>22</sup> Was this perhaps the reason for the Chaldaeans trying to keep Alexander's army out at least until after the harvest?

absolute king, who ruled Macedonians, Persians and Babylonians autocratically, and indiscriminately (Fredericksmeyer 2000: 165).

What Alexander really thought of the Babylonians we can only guess from his deeds. Whether he had contempt for Babylonians or Babylonian wisdom (so Smelik 1978-9: 107-8) is difficult to gauge. But I would argue, *pace* Smelik, that Alexander was a very superstitious person, full of awe for the divine, full of weird ideas about his own divinity. He may have been suspicious of everybody, as autocratic rulers are. He may have been suspicious of the Babylonians for that matter. He may have had his doubts, fed by a few Greek friends, but he certainly did not dare to disregard the Chaldaeans' advice. His court was thronged with soothsayers; he did make difficult detours through marshy regions around Babylon; and he set 10,000 soldiers at work for the reconstruction of the temple tower. Babylon was to be the, or at least a, capital of his empire, whatever the Babylonian population might have thought of it. Alexander may have been impressed by Babylonian astronomy. Who knows whether he was not really impressed by Babylonian civilization?

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## MAKING HISTORY: SARGON OF AGADE AND CYRUS THE GREAT OF PERSIA\*

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The stories of the birth and rise to power of the third millennium Mesopotamian ruler, Sargon of Agade, and Cyrus the Great of Persia, founder of the great Achaemenid empire, who reigned over fifteen hundred years later, in the sixth century BC, display some striking similarities, as has been noted previously (e.g. Drews 1974; Lewis 1980; cf. Glassner 1988). My aim here is to show how stories of this type function, and the care needed not to be ensnared by them in the absence of other evidence. In order to set my material in context, I shall need to define briefly some of the main genres of Mesopotamian historical writing (see now Michalowski 1999). The teaching of Arnaldo Momigliano, which I was lucky enough to experience, first roused my interest in

\* Some explanation of the tone of this paper is required. The text is the only slightly modified version of my inaugural lecture (University College London, 8.10.1998). Over 90% of the audience were not merely non-specialists, but had no knowledge of ancient history. This explains the very general, at times sweeping, statements contained in the article, as well as the small number of footnotes and limited scholarly references. Heleen, who was in the audience, enjoyed the lecture enormously: it appealed to her very lively sense of humour, it presented the kind of historiographical problem she was very much alive to, and it concerned issues of story-structure and the circulation of tales, the importance of which she was instrumental in drawing to our attention (see, e.g., Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983/1993). She hoped that there might be an opportunity for her to hear me give the lecture again in the Netherlands, but the rapid development of her illness prevented that. These circumstances and her concern to make Achaemenid history accessible to a broader public, make it not totally inappropriate to include such a general piece in a scholarly volume dedicated to commemorating her enormous contribution to our subject.

I should also take this opportunity to thank Wouter Henkelman for his very helpful comments on this piece. We diverge somewhat, but not fatally, on several aspects; nevertheless, I have found discussing the subject with him, as well as reading his unpublished doctoraal scriptie, extremely helpful.

historiography and made me aware of the crucial importance of weighing sources critically, and resisting the seductions of a good story.

An important category of historiographical material in ancient Mesopotamia consists of what Kirk Grayson, in a survey (Grayson 1980), called 'chronographic texts,' i.e. texts, whose prime function was calendrical: they include apparently simple lists such as lists of eponymous officials, king-lists and lists of year-names (Kuhrt 2000: 259-260, cf. Machinist 1986: 197-200). Year-names formed a system of dating according to the names given to the years of a king's reign, each name commemorating some outstanding event, such as the dedication of a temple or cult-statue, the construction of walls or canals, proclamations of 'justice,' when outstanding debts were remitted, or territorial conquests. The practice, which ceased around the middle of the second millennium, provides us with a glimpse of which kinds of royal activities were thought significant enough to be officially remembered in this way and so provides an index of what constituted a 'good king.'

The 'Babylonian Chronicle Series,' which covers events year by year from 745 well into the second century BC (not yet all published, see Van der Spek, this volume), falls broadly into the same category, yet differs in that the chronicles seem to be based on records of independently observed monthly and yearly celestial, climatic phenomena and political events. Their ultimate source is not absolutely certain, but material of this nature must underlie them (*contra* Brinkman 1990, and note Van der Spek, this volume). As a result, they provide to all intents and purposes an objective and reliable, albeit brief, historical record for the periods they cover (ABC nos. 1-13b; Glassner 1993, ch. IX; AD I-III). In this respect, they differ profoundly from other texts, also called chronicles – because their structure is similar to the Babylonian Chronicles – but which were composed several hundred years after the events they recount (Van Seters 1983: 79-92; ABC nos. 16-20; Glassner 1993, ch. X), and give highly tendentious accounts of the reigns of rulers of the distant past.<sup>1</sup> Among the sources for these 'pseudo-chronicles' were epics and legends about earlier kings, as well as omen collections from the first half of the second millennium. Here the shape of the sheep's liver examined for divination was correlated with the exploits of famous figures of the past and given a positive or negative prognosis (Finkelstein 1963; Cooper 1980). The allusive nature of the omen references suggests that the particular kings who figure in them were so well-known that any closer definition of what the allusion meant was unnecessary; in other

<sup>1</sup> Note particularly al-Rawi 1990, showing that the 'Weidner Chronicle' (= ABC no. 19) was part of a 'prophetic' text, cast in royal letter form; see also the stimulating remarks of Glassner 1999.

words, they give us a hint of the kinds of tales generated by famous figures of the past and show us that they circulated widely.

This brings me to one of the central figures of this discussion, Sargon of Agade, who, c.2300, brought the Sumerian system of warring city-states of Babylonia to an end by incorporating them forcibly into a new realm, which included extensive areas beyond southern Iraq to the north, west and east. Sargon's rapid and extensive conquests, his foundation of a relatively successful and new political order, forms a watershed in Mesopotamian history and substantially influenced the later historical tradition and its literary formation, a feature analysed brilliantly by Hans Güterbock in the 1930s (see further Glassner 1986; Michalowski 1993; Liverani 1993). But contemporary sources for Sargon's reign are almost non-existent: the length of his reign is derived from a document known as the 'Sumerian King List,' compiled two- to four hundred years after Sargon's reign (Michalowski 1983; cf. Jonker 1995: 140ff.), using diverse sources including legends, stories and calendrical material such as year-names. Nevertheless, Sargon's conquests are at least partially known from reliable scribal copies of his monumental inscriptions (Frayne 1993; Sollberger & Kupper 1971: 97-100; Gelb 1952: 6-11; Buccellati 1993). Beyond this, it is certain that he developed the city of Agade as his political base and royal capital and that the Semitic Akkadian language, spoken in the area of Agade, became increasingly prominent in written form from his time onwards, eventually displacing the earlier Sumerian. One of the ways in which Sargon and his successors tried to consolidate their control of the constituent parts of their newly formed empire was by appointing members of the royal family to top positions in the temples of subjugated cities. The best documented example of this policy was the induction of Sargon's daughter, Enheduanna, into the important post of high priestess, *ēn(e)tu* of the moon-god, Sin, at Ur (Hallo & van Dijk 1968). This high priestess seems to have lived in a special section of the temple with her retinue until she died, remaining unmarried and childless, as she was conceived to be the 'wife' (or 'bride') of the god. The post existed before Sargon's reign (Winter 1987), but with the installation of Sargon's daughter, the position assumed a greatly enhanced importance. For the next five centuries, down to c.1800 or so, it became a recurring practice for a king claiming overall control of the cities of Babylonia, in the manner initiated by Sargon, to dedicate one of his daughters to this cultic office.<sup>2</sup> Sargon's success in

<sup>2</sup> This raises the vexed question of the 'sacred marriage ceremony.' Two distinct rituals are dubbed this: one is the marriage of two deities, represented by their statues; the other a ceremony during which Inanna-Ishtar and the king, in the guise of her mythical lover Dumuzi, were united. How this latter was enacted precisely remains uncertain as,

creating such a large and relatively durable realm was so impressive, that, after the fall of the Agade dynasty, it became the aim of subsequent rulers to emulate his achievements and try to reconstitute it. As the model of the world-conqueror par excellence, Sargon became the protagonist of many stories and epics; some are preserved, while elements of others appear in omens and the late chronicles about early kings (Westenholz 1993). Other texts connected with Sargon are pseudonymous royal inscriptions attributed to him.<sup>3</sup>

It is a pseudo-royal inscription of this type, although subject to heavy literary reformulating (Westenholz 1993: 36-49; Henkelman 1999-2000: 65-6), which is also the best-known text concerning Sargon: this is the so-called 'birth-legend.' It purports to be written by Sargon himself, and is therefore cast in the first person; it gives an account of his obscure beginnings and his ultimate success in conquering the 'four quarters' (sc. of the world), followed by a somewhat obscure section, perhaps intended to serve as a reminder of the fleeting nature of worldly power. The text survives in four fragments, from what were originally two separate exemplars, both from Neo-Assyrian Nineveh, in other words from the seventh century. A further fragment, dating to the fifth century, comes from Babylonia to the south and only preserves the beginning of the text; it was a school-exercise tablet. The date of composition of the original is unknown; but several features suggest that the form it now has may predate the Assyrian copies by only a few decades, although it could well be a reworking of an earlier, well-known story (Longman III 1991: 53-60; Henkelman 1999-2000). What is certain is that the text circulated in the seventh, sixth and fifth centuries, in both Assyria and Babylonia.

The account begins by identifying the supposed author as Sargon: a name which means 'true' or 'legitimate king.' It goes on to say that his mother was a high-priestess (*ēnetu(m)*), implying that she was of royal birth; his father was unknown although he says that his father's kinsman lived in the mountains, which creates a link with the mountain-folk living beyond Mesopotamia's civilised urban plains (see Henkelman 1999-2000, III.3.2, on the motif of the unknown father). His birth was shameful (perhaps even dangerous) for his mother; therefore she placed him in a basket and let it float down the Euphrates. The basket was found by a humble water-drawer (i.e. gardener), Aqqi, who adopted Sargon and brought him up in his trade of gardening. This detailed history of Sargon's beginnings comes to an abrupt end; the remaining story of his rise to power is subsumed in the statement that the goddess, Ishtar (patron-

apart from literary allusions, no descriptions survive. See the discussions in Frymer-Kensky 1992: 50-7; Cooper 1993; Leick 1994: 111-38; Westenholz 1995; 2000: 51-52.

<sup>3</sup> For the difference between literary and monumental *narru* forms, see Jonker 1995: 95.

deity of Sargon's city, Agade) favoured him and that he ruled xx years as king. Following this, 8 lines are devoted to listing Sargon's exploits in penetrating to the edges of the world; the remainder is addressed to future kings, who are enjoined to imitate Sargon's example, followed by the premonitory section on the transitory nature of earthly power.

The literary style apes that of a royal inscription, and so invests itself with the authority of an old monument, mediating the message of a past revered figure. Its purpose is didactic – the reader/listener is to learn from the example of the supposed author, who, in this instance, is the hero Sargon. Yet the contents are curiously brief: the message of the section where Sargon says (the goddess) 'Ishtar favoured me,' could be that, if one is god-fearing and carries out one's humble duties uncomplainingly, the gods will show their favour by drawing the world's attention to one's 'true' nature. In the case of Sargon these are his noble origins, which must needs be revealed so that he may take his 'true' place in society.<sup>4</sup> From some of the other material about Sargon, such as the Sumerian King List, it has been argued that the reference to Ishtar's divine favour encapsulates metaphorically the story of Sargon's rise to power, as it was recounted from the early second millennium onwards (Jacobsen 1939: 110-111, ll. 31-33; Cooper & Heimpel 1983); one of the 'chronicles' about early times shows that it continued to circulate into the sixth century (ABC no. 19, ll. 46-48). But all we can reconstruct of this tale are the following elements: at some stage, Sargon, son of a gardener, rose to become the cup-bearer of Urzababa, king of Kish, a prominent city in northern Babylonia; then, perhaps because of a sacrilege, Urzababa was killed and hegemony over Sumer passed to his former servant. In the Sumerian King List's frame of reference, this represents a rupture in the system of shifting power among a defined group of city-states. The caesura is marked by two features: first, Sargon was not of royal blood; he was not a city-ruler, but a palace-official who usurped his master's position; secondly, his city Agade had not until then played a politically significant role and had not figured in the roster of cities among which power had rotated. So we appear to have here a story distinct from the birth-legend, with no significant narrative overlap.<sup>5</sup>

What the precise date and purpose of the composition of the 'birth-legend' was is difficult to determine, as the number of exemplars is very small. Brian Lewis, in his study of the text (1980), argued that, whatever the date of

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps emblematically expressed by Sargon's gardening, which can be linked with royal activities, see Henkelman 1999-2000, III.3.1.

<sup>5</sup> Here I differ from Henkelman 1999-2000, who regards the two stories as fundamentally the same.

compositon, it was assiduously promoted in the reign of Sargon II of Assyria in the late eighth century. Sargon II was not in the regular line of succession, but had seized power by force from his brother. The fact that his name, unusual at the time, is the same as that of the famous world-conqueror of old could be intended to mask the irregularities surrounding his accession and be a deliberate expression of his political programme. If Lewis' idea that this version of the Sargon-legend was re-emphasised at this time is correct (and several features, in my view, argue in its favour), then it suggests a deliberate royal fostering of the story in the late Assyrian period to help underpin the Assyrian Sargon's somewhat shaky claim to the throne (Glassner 1988). Other literary creations of this period also point to the fact that there was a strong revival of stories about Sargon of Agade's exploits (see, particularly, Horowitz 1998: 67-95). But the point that I want to stress in this context is that the birth-legend was an alternative version of Sargon's accession to royal power and that it was in circulation at the same time as the 'folktale' outlined above (p. 351). One story uses the theme of infant exposure, presenting Sargon as a royal figure, who miraculously regains his rightful position; this version may have been (re)formulated only at a fairly late date to serve specific political ends; the other version stresses Sargon's obscure origins and gradual rise to the throne – a story already current around 2000.

The tale of obscure, though noble, birth, infant exposure, adoption and ultimate recognition of the true nature of the infant come to manhood, who founds a new state/order, is a motif of enormous popularity; it is found at many different times and in many different places (see Lewis 1980 for a lengthy list). In the ancient Near East stories about Zoroaster and elements of king David's rise to power exhibit some similarities; best known, of course, is the Moses story, as Otto Rank and Freud noted early in the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> But in many ways the closest comparable nexus of stories are those relating to Cyrus of Persia. Our earliest narrative source for Cyrus, Herodotus, writing in the fifth century BC, knew four stories about Cyrus' rise to power, but decided to include only one in his histories and refer briefly to a second one. In broad outline the story, as Herodotus (1.107-123; 127-130) gives it, runs thus. Astyages, king of the Medes, has a frightening dream about his daughter, Mandane; as a result he gives her in marriage to a foreigner, not worthy of her, i.e. Cambyses the

<sup>6</sup> S. Freud, *Der Mann Moses und die monotheistische Religion. Drei Abhandlungen*, Amsterdam 1939 (Eng. trans. *Moses and Monotheism*, London 1939). I have used it in the edition of the Penguin Freud Library, vol. 13, Harmondsworth 1985; the discussion of Sargon is on pp. 247-8, preceded by acknowledgement of Rank's 1909 work, *Der Mythos von der Geburt des Helden*.

Persian. Despite the removal of this threat, Astyages has another dream which is interpreted to mean that Mandane's child will take the throne from him. Mandane is sent for, her child, a son, is taken from her at birth and ordered to be killed, modified by a trusted courtier to exposure. The king's plan, unbeknownst to him, misfires and a humble cowherd, Mithridates, and his wife, living far from the royal capital secretly bring up the child as their own. When the child is ten years old, all is discovered; Astyages, who thinks that because his grandson was playing a game of 'king' his ominous dream has now been fulfilled, returns the child to his parents; his grandson overthrows his cruel grandfather later and founds an empire spanning the world.

The elements comparable to the Sargon story are: the high status of the mother and the marginality of the father; the rescue and adoption of the child by a lowly man (named). The exposure is not carried out in the Cyrus story, but it is planned. Moreover, it almost certainly played a part in another version of Cyrus's birth mentioned by Herodotus, and echoed with some variations by Justin (1.4): according to this, Cyrus owed his initial survival to a bitch, who suckled him (1.110; 122). Other classical writers present versions of Herodotus' story, with only minor variants.

But a completely different one is given by Ctesias (*apud* Nic.Dam. FGrH 90 F66, 1-7), court-doctor in the service of the Persian queen mother, Parysatis, about a hundred and fifty years after Cyrus' reign at the beginning of the fourth century. The main points of his story are, first, that Cyrus was not remotely related to Astyages or indeed to any high-ranking person;<sup>7</sup> his father was so poor that he was a bandit, while his mother was a herder of goats. In order to escape penury, Cyrus asked the attendant in charge of the royal gardens to take him on as an assistant. As Cyrus worked well, he was given good clothes to wear and transferred to a job inside the palace, and because of his good conduct he was eventually attached to the service of the king's cup-bearer. One day, when the royal cup-bearer fell ill and was sent home, Cyrus replaced him, and eventually (the process is not explained) overthrew Astyages. This seems to be a classic 'rags-to-riches' story, with the virtues of respect, hard work and enterprise eventually bringing the greatest prize, in this case, the throne. At no point is Cyrus exposed, his parents are the lowest of the low, and Cyrus pulls himself up by his own bootstraps. The similarities between this story and elements of what I call the 'older' Sargon folktale are that Cyrus' first patron was a gardener, comparable to Sargon's father (a date-grower) as related by one version of the Sumerian King List. Cyrus gains the position of cup-bearer to the

<sup>7</sup> But note Henkelman 1999-2000, n. 197, who detects hints of Cyrus' noble descent.

king he eventually overthrows; again closely comparable to other elements of the Sargon story (see above, p. 351).

Because of the closeness of Ctesias' version of the Cyrus story to the older Sargon legend, Robert Drews in 1974 put forward the following hypothesis. Because Ctesias spent much time in Babylonia, where his mistress lived on her extensive estates for several years, he must have heard this version of the Cyrus story there. It therefore reflects a genuine Babylonian tradition current in the fifth century: the framework of the Sargon story, he argues, had been transferred to Cyrus, and the milieu in which this took place was that of oral folk-history, as opposed to the written text which would (in Drews' words) have "held the story for Sargon against the claims of Cyrus, the new usurper."

Drews' argument is stimulating, but it also raises some questions. There is nothing in the history of Babylonia under Persian rule to suggest that Cyrus was in any sense regarded as a usurper, particularly after over a hundred years of relatively problem-free Persian control of the country. So the implication of Drews' view – that the guardians of Babylonia's written traditions would have been zealously protecting the primacy of their own hero, Sargon, against the arriviste claims of Cyrus, out of some kind of local pride and chauvinism – is not completely convincing, and, to my mind, it rests on a false distinction. What we need to remember is that, in my view, there were two divergent stories about Sargon current simultaneously: one, echoed in Ctesias and associated there with Cyrus, according to which Sargon was of humble origins, but unexpectedly gained the kingship by virtue of his own efforts; and another version, which was perhaps a reworking of the story, and particularly promoted in the later eighth century to serve a political agenda. According to this, the king's origins were noble, even royal, but obscured by misfortune, which led him to lose his rightful position. He regained it ultimately because the gods knew his true identity and reinstated him. In other words, following a series of mishaps, the dutiful acceptance of which displays the hero's virtues, the king's true nature is revealed. The narrative development here has the advantage of not fundamentally disturbing the socio-political status quo and providing an inherent claim to legitimacy. Given these two versions, I think it possible that the Sargon story had a more profound impact on the shaping of the Cyrus legend than Drews suggests, and at two distinct levels, and would suggest that there may have been a quite deliberate fostering of an elision between the two kings by the Persians, possibly even by Cyrus himself.

The birth-legend provided a very attractive prototype to emulate in instances where accession to the throne was not in accordance with standard practice. This may, as I said, have been one of the reasons why Sargon II of Assyria took the name he did and why the existence of this particular story around the time of his reign could be significant. Another king who actively

promoted the image of Sargon was Nabonidus, the last Babylonian king, who was himself defeated by Cyrus in 539. Like other Babylonian rulers, he was careful when rebuilding and repairing temples to search for foundation-texts left by his royal predecessors, who had carried out work in the same places. In his numerous inscriptions, there is a marked focus on finds of texts left by the kings of Agade; he even ordered searches to be made for royal inscriptions in the old palaces of the city of Agade itself (Beaulieu 1989a: 141-2). Nabonidus may also have revived an Old Babylonian cultic institution and equipped it with a history linking its beginnings to Sargon's eldest son and second successor, Maništušu (Sollberger 1968).<sup>8</sup> Two of Nabonidus' acts, however, are of particular interest. Nabonidus reintroduced the practice of dedicating a royal daughter as high priestess at Ur. The last time a Babylonian king had done so was over five hundred years earlier (Böhl 1937-8; Beaulieu 1989a: 127-132). A later literary text about Nabonidus (Lambert 1968-9; Machinist & Tadmor 1993) describes the finding of a statue of Sargon during Nabonidus' temple-building in Sippar. The statue, whose head was partly broken, was carefully repaired, placed inside the rebuilt temple and a cult instituted for it by the king. The historical reality of this act is confirmed by contemporary documents (Kennedy 1969; Beaulieu 1989a: 134-6).

A factor that might explain Nabonidus' interest in Sargon was his own entirely irregular accession to the throne, following the assassination of the young son of his predecessor – an act very possibly masterminded by Nabonidus himself. It is also striking that in several of his long inscriptions, Nabonidus stresses that he was chosen for kingship by the gods, who recognised his royal stature. At the same time, there are hints that Nabonidus may have viewed his attempts to extend Babylonian imperial power as echoing Sargon's exploits (Smith 1924: 83-91, v.2-7; cf. Beaulieu 1989a: 214-7). These circumstances make it conceivable that the Sargon legends had a particular resonance that could be exploited and his achievements consciously emulated by Nabonidus both to strengthen his legitimacy as ruler and provide a model for his ambitions.

The prominence of Sargon in Nabonidus' reign shows that stories of the heroic world-conqueror were particularly pronounced in the latest phase of the Neo-Babylonian empire, just at the time of Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia which, but for Egypt, gave him the 'whole world' as his dominion, from the Aegean to Central Asia. Ironically, then, it was Cyrus who emerged as the one who actually realised Nabonidus' ambitions and, more fully than any Mesopotamian king

<sup>8</sup> See Al-Rawi & George 1994: 139-148 for confirmation that the Cruciform Monument quite definitely bears Maništušu's name. The idea that it was associated with Naram-Sin, as argued by Powell 1991 and accepted by Jonker 1995: 158-9, must be discarded.

since Sargon's days, recreated and reunited his legendary world-empire. This, in turn, appears to have led to the formulation of the story of Cyrus' rise into one analogous to that of Sargon. What is particularly interesting in this context is the fact that the Sargon statue, which had been refurbished by Nabonidus, continued to be presented with regular offerings throughout the reigns of Cyrus and his successor Cambyses (Kennedy 1969). And offerings of this type were not simply routinely continued by those charged with making them regardless of political changes – permission to continue to divert resources to a particular cult required royal authorisation (Frame 1991). Another feature we should note is that, following Nabonidus' defeat, Cyrus ordered the city of Agade to be refurbished (Beaulieu 1989b).

What role might the Sargon 'birth-legend' have played in Cyrus' takeover of the Babylonian throne? It is pretty likely that, in view of the repeated appeals to an implicit comparison with Sargon by Nabonidus, this story with its emphasis on virtue, piety and an inherent legitimacy to kingship, formed a significant element of public discourse on the right to rule in the Neo-Babylonian empire. With Persian royal involvement in the cult of the legendary conqueror, the figure of Sargon of Agade merged with that of Cyrus, so that the Persian victor came to be identified with the Mesopotamian hero of antiquity as the 'true king' of the universe, whose right to rule Babylonia had existed from birth. At the same time, the alternative Sargon/Cyrus history, presenting a 'rags-to-riches' motif, which dwelt on personal initiative, good luck and individual ability all leading to ultimate success, functioned concurrently at the level of popular moralising tales. In other words, the difference in the stories which Drews defined is not necessarily one between written and oral, and Sargon versus Cyrus. The difference is rather one of function: one works at a royal, official level maintaining and confirming the socio-political fabric; the other provides a miraculous and extreme example of individual success to be emulated but virtually never achieved. The two stories work to complement each other and reinforce the existing structure in which everyone's place is known and assigned, and real social mobility extremely rare.

The Sargon legends are historical romances created and shaped out of pervasive popular folk-tale motifs. They could be manipulated to strengthen shaky claims to royal power, precisely because they represented simple, common-place moral and social values. The Cyrus stories purvey exactly the same social and moral messages, and may well have been articulated on their basis. As history in the sense of 'true facts' they are worthless, and can shed no light on the historical individuals who appear as their protagonists; searching for their 'historical kernel,' as some have tried to do, is a pointless exercise. But in demonstrating the potency of fiction, not merely as a tool but an inspiration for political action, they are clearly of great interest.

To demonstrate the futility of attempts to disinter a 'nugget of historical truth' from such tales, I would like to turn to a rather different time and place. When I first started thinking about the Sargon-Cyrus nexus (which was some time ago), I came across an article in the London *Times Literary Supplement* (Renshaw 1985). It was the review of a book about the American writer Horatio Alger Jr., who produced dozens of stories in the late nineteenth century, which were extremely popular in the early decades of the twentieth, all turning on the theme of America as the land of opportunity. The books were of the 'From Log Cabin to White House' type, entitled 'Rough and Ready,' 'Ragged Dick,' 'Bound to Rise' and so forth. They were best-sellers but no-one knew a thing about the author save his name. Because of the great popularity of the novels, a young journalist was asked by a publisher in 1927 to write a biography of Alger, who had died almost thirty years earlier. The journalist, Mayes, undertook the commission, but found there was no material as Alger's family had burnt all his papers; he informed the publisher of this fact, but the latter encouraged Mayes to invent a biography, using Alger's own novels as a source. That biography, citing fictitious diaries and letters, proved so convincing that it became the primary source for the entry on Alger in the prestigious *American Dictionary of National Biography*. This, in a more blatant form, is essentially the process of the Sargon and Cyrus 'biographies:' stories, which seem to explain their spectacular success against the odds, are developed to fill the blank canvas to everyone's satisfaction. But despite the fact that modern scholars agree that the stories are essentially fiction, elements of them still continue to be put forward as fact on the basis of the 'grain of historical truth' theory. Thus William Hallo, whose Near Eastern history was reissued in 1998, feels that some elements of the story provide hints of the truth: Sargon was of humble birth, his mother was a priestess who must have contracted an illicit marriage and thus had to expose him at birth ... (Hallo & Simpson 1971: 55). Hallo is perhaps the most extreme instance, but others, too, are loath to relinquish the story in its entirety: Georges Roux, whose Mesopotamian history has continued to be reprinted by Penguin Books since its first appearance in 1964 (most recently in 1993), describes the tale as "strongly romanticised history," but then goes on to maintain that Sargon came from a modest family and worked his way up to become cup-bearer to the king of Kish (Roux 1966: 141). Even the hardheaded Joan Oates, whose useful Babylonian history, published in a revised edition in 1986 and widely used by students, after saying that Sargon's antecedents "have been obscured in the haze of mythology," does not hesitate to continue that "it is possible that he was the illegitimate son of a priestess of Kish" (Oates 1979: 32). While no-one has yet, to the best of my knowledge, found nuggets of truth in the Cyrus story, it is significant that very few people question the fact that Cyrus was the grandson of Astyages and hence half-Median (e.g. Yamauchi

1990: 79) – a ‘fact’ for which there is no corroboration whatever, aside from Herodotus’ story; and his assertion that Persia was subject to the Medes, which is an important element in terms of the dynamics of his Cyrus story, is similarly tacitly accepted as fact (e.g. Cook 1983: 28), although no evidence supports it.

There is a further twist to the Alger story which I have found instructive: in 1947, a Horatio Alger Award was created in the United States. These awards for, I quote, “living individuals who by their own efforts have pulled themselves up by their own bootstraps in the American tradition,” have since gone to such prominent American citizens as Dwight Eisenhower, Billy Graham and Ronald Reagan. In other words a national prize has been set up in Alger’s name encapsulating the values expressed in his books and supposedly embodied by himself. So the myth has been perpetuated and enshrined in public life, with people rewarded for emulating it in their careers. This, in essence, is not so far removed from Mesopotamian kings justifying their usurpations by an implicit appeal to Sargon’s model, or the Persian coronation-ceremony, which involved the successor putting on the dress which Cyrus supposedly wore ‘before he became king,’ thereby re-enacting ritually his rise to power and the throne (Plut. *Art.* 3), a ritual which mythologised the imperial founder and flies in the face of indisputable contemporary evidence, in fact, Cyrus’ own words, which tell us that Cyrus’ father, grandfather and greatgrandfather were all Great Kings of Persia/Anshan (Cyrus Cylinder, Berger 1975, ll. 20-21).

The final dénouement of the Alger story is the book that was being reviewed in the *Times Literary Supplement*. The authors revealed the forgery, managed to dig up some material concerning Alger’s life that had, after all, escaped destruction and so tried to set out ‘the real facts.’ From their research it emerged that Alger was a Unitarian minister, who was defrocked for sexual misconduct and, down on his uppers, wrote his novels for ready cash, exploiting this well-loved theme of America’s self-image; he personally detested these sentiments and was rather critical of the United States’ social and political system. The kind of evidence that ancient historians normally have at their disposal does not make it easy to find material for such a radical revision of the images of Sargon and Cyrus, but the Alger story should give us pause to reflect on the power of fictions which become institutionalised, the speed with which they take root and the way in which they generate their own truths by encapsulating widely-shared socio-political values.

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